



To N. B. Q.

*without whose encouragement and
inspiration this book would
not have been written*





Copyright Photo by Otis W. Miller

MANUEL L. QUEZON

The President may be seen wearing the *barong Tagalog* with the words "Tydings-McDuffie" embroidered on it. This portrait was taken three days before his last birthday.

QUEZON

MAN OF DESTINY

By
CARLOS QUIRINO



MANILA
PHILIPPINE ISLANDS

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By

CARLOS QUIRINO

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P R E F A C E

IN an original work of this sort, where some twenty living contemporaries of President Quezon were consulted for biographical facts about his life, errors are bound to creep in. This biography does not pretend to be exhaustive, conclusive, or final. In writing about any living person, much that could be said cannot be printed; there are numerous facts surrounding recent and current events which, when disclosed at some future date, may modify judgment on the man.

Desiring to make this brief biography as historically accurate as possible, the author submitted the original manuscript to President Quezon last August 16; but for some reason or other, most likely because he has been too busy with affairs of state, he has not had time to read it through. The author therefore wrote to the President on September 24, partly as follows:

"You have told me that I have made some errors in fact, and that my conclusions and interpretations were worse. I'm always willing to be corrected, and I change my point of view according to facts, as I'm only human and subject to error. If you will excuse my frankness—and I know that that is a quality you possess and admire in others—biographies and articles which have been written about you in the past fall into two definite classes: those that deify, and those that vilify. This biography of mine does neither; it presents the greatest political leader in the entire history of the Philippines as I see him; it presents his achievements as well as his mistakes. It is my intention to strike a happy balance between the two extremes, and, if I may humbly say so, my position as an obscure young newspaperman qualifies me best for the task; for then I have no position to lose, or a desire to curry favor. My only desire is to write for history and posterity."

President Quezon took the manuscript with him to Hongkong on September 25 for perusal, but his sudden return to Manila, and the numerous demands made upon him in his new position, precluded any possibility for a criticism of the manuscript. Hence, the opinions expressed in these pages are my own—untrammelled, uncensored, and unexpurgated.

QUEZON: MAN OF DESTINY

In offering this modest volume to the public, the author was mainly motivated by a desire to be of some help in furthering our national ideal of independence. To quote President Quezon: "In the past we have been speaking about Philippine independence always in glowing terms. . . . Now the time for talking on this matter is past. This is the time for action, for doing something to make that independence not only a reality, but a happy reality for our people." To explain the many problems facing our country, and in that way lighten somewhat the heavy load upon the shoulders of our President, is the primary aim of this book.

This little volume is primarily addressed to the Filipino young men and women, for it is upon their generation that the burden will fall most heavily in the years to come when the Philippine Republic will have become a reality. My sincere hope is that this book may prove to be a constant source of inspiration to the youth of our land, so that they may imbibe fresh courage to face future difficulties from the example of continuous self-sacrifice for country set before them by our beloved President and First Lady.

Carlos Quirino

Manila, October 15, 1935.

CHAPTER I

Early Life, As Student And Soldier

AT the head of the polished hardwood stairway in stately Malacañan Palace, there hangs a painting called "The Blood Compact," showing Don Miguel Lopez de Legaspi, first governor-general of the Philippines and Chief Sikatuna of the island of Bohol sealing a treaty by drinking a mixture of wine and their own blood. That painting is curiously symbolical. For today dwells in historic Malacañan Palace the first president of the Commonwealth of the Philippines, Don Manuel Luis Quezon y Molina, in whose veins runs the blood of the Spaniard and the Malay.

Persuasive of speech, shrewd in thought and clever in compromise, charming but resolute, affable but capable of grim earnestness where the rights of his people are concerned—such is President Quezon, one of the most able, magnetic, and colorful personalities among world notables.

What is the future of the Philippines: will she be another Latin American republic torn by internal revolutions? Will she become a second Manchukuo? or will she secure the envied security of a Switzerland in the Far East? Momentous questions all these, but it is futile to speculate on the future—of one thing we are certain: the man who will guide the destiny of thirteen million Filipinos is a seasoned statesman who, with his right-hand man Vice-President Sergio Osmeña, has taken turns in successfully guiding insular affairs for the past three decades.

Credit must go to these two men and their followers for checking the transformation of the archipelago into a puppet country controlled by the capitalists of a world power. The total amount of American (18.3%) and foreign investments is insufficient to create

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a strangle hold on the affairs of the country; at present, the Philippines cannot be said to be a second Cuba, Venezuela or Egypt¹. The Filipinos have always realized that foreign capital was necessary to develop their natural resources, but at the same time they were mortally afraid that this same capital would later prove a hindrance to complete independence. With the sad example of the banana republics of Central America before their eyes, the Filipino leaders were exceedingly pleased when Congress passed a law limiting holdings of public lands to 1,024 hectares. No corporation, or group of individuals, could thus own or lease huge tracts of fertile agricultural or forest lands. This law eventually prevented rubber interests from coming to the archipelago.

Filipinos wanted foreign capital, but under certain restrictions, which foreign capitalists would not tolerate. Hence, Filipino leaders were forced to embark upon a series of government-owned enterprises: a form of socialism even at a time when the theory of laissez-faire was at its height in the United States. With the approval of Governor Harrison, Quezon and Osmeña started the Philippine National Bank, firms to exploit native coal, cement and other resources; the insular government furthermore owned the largest hotel in the archipelago, an ice plant, and also the only extensive railroad company in the Islands.

Still dreading the influx of foreign capital which could extend octopus-like tentacles on the economic and political life of the nation, the Filipinos further provided in their Constitution the following paragraph:

Article XII, section IV. All agricultural, timber, and mineral lands of the public domain, waters, minerals, coal, petroleum, and other mineral oils, all forces of potential energy, and other natural resources of the Philippines belong to the State, and their disposition, exploitation, development, or utilization shall

¹ Filipinocapital investments total 62.7%, but only 14.5% if investments on real estate and agriculture are excluded. In the latter case, American capital investments jump to first place with a 49.6%, while Chinese come next with 17% or two per cent ahead of Filipinos. American capital investments in the Philippines, other than those of the U. S. government, was estimated in 1930 at about \$200,000,000. Of this figure, \$65,472,000 were invested in Philippine government bonds, \$38,383,000 in merchandising enterprises, \$30,000,000 in sugar centrals, and \$19,347,000 in an electric light plant.

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be limited to citizens of the Philippines, or to corporations or associations at least 60 per centum of the capital of which is owned by such citizens, subject to any existing right, grant, lease, or concession at the time of the inauguration of the Government established under this constitution. Natural resources, with the exception of public agricultural land, shall not be alienated, and no license, concession, or lease for the exploitation, development, or utilization of any of the natural resources shall be granted for a period exceeding 25 years, renewable for another 25 years, except as to water rights for irrigation, water supply, fisheries, or industrial uses other than the development of water power, in which cases beneficial use may be the measure and the limit of the grant.

Section 2. No private corporation or association may acquire, lease, or hold public agricultural lands in excess of 1,024 hectares, nor may any individual acquire such lands by purchase in excess of 144 hectares, or by lease in excess of 1,024 hectares, or by homesteads in excess of 24 hectares. Lands adapted to grazing, not exceeding 2,000 hectares, may be leased to an individual, private corporation, or association.

The economic dependence of Philippine products on the American market began in 1909 with the passage of the Payne tariff act by U. S. Congress. The Philippine Assembly, led by Osmeña and Quezon, opposed such a move partly on the ground that it would make the archipelago dependent on the United States, so that independence would be harder to secure. Two decades and a half have passed since then, and during this period the Islands have prospered tremendously under the artificial stimulus of free trade with America. Although Filipino political leaders knew that this condition would not last forever, they neglected to change the economic life-stream of the nation, they failed to re-orientate Philippine economic development. They took the blind attitude of depending on the American market to the last minute, then hoping for the best that somehow or other the Philippines would make the necessary painful adjustments in search of other markets. They were so engrossed in securing political independence, in jockeying for supremacy in insular politics, that they overlooked the paramount importance of economic independence.

Though Filipino leaders have zealously guarded the archipelago from the invasion of rapacious foreign capital, they have overlooked the welfare of the common man—the humble *tao* or farmer

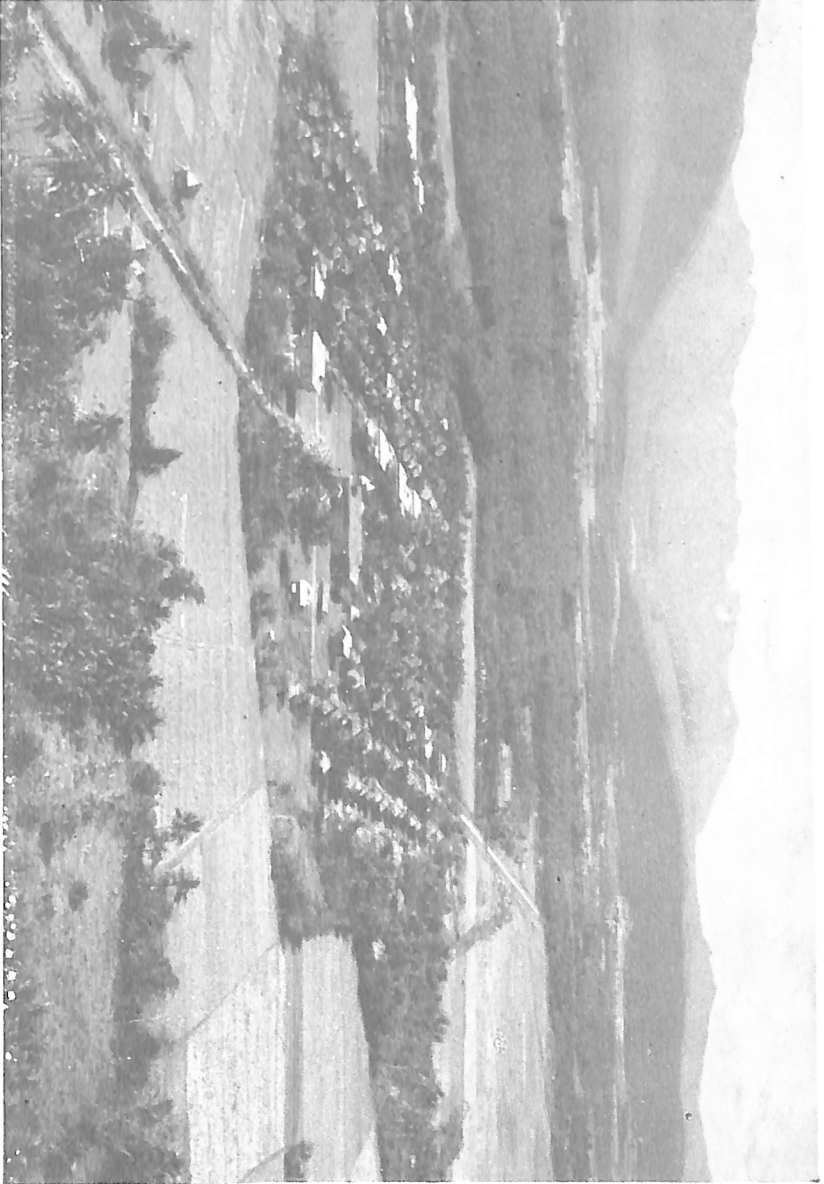
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of the field and the poor working man, who form the great bulk of the population. It is true that with prosperity under the American flag, the lot of the common *tao* has been improved; roads have been built, educational and health facilities greatly extended, and the standard of living raised. But evils such as usury, relations between tenants and landlords, between manufacturers and wage earners, Japanese land holdings in Davao, and other problems, still exist. With the economic depression, these evils have been accentuated, and left the masses open to the exploitation of radical agitators. The Sakdal uprising last May was an example.

How successfully these problems will be met will depend largely on President Manuel Quezon himself and his followers.

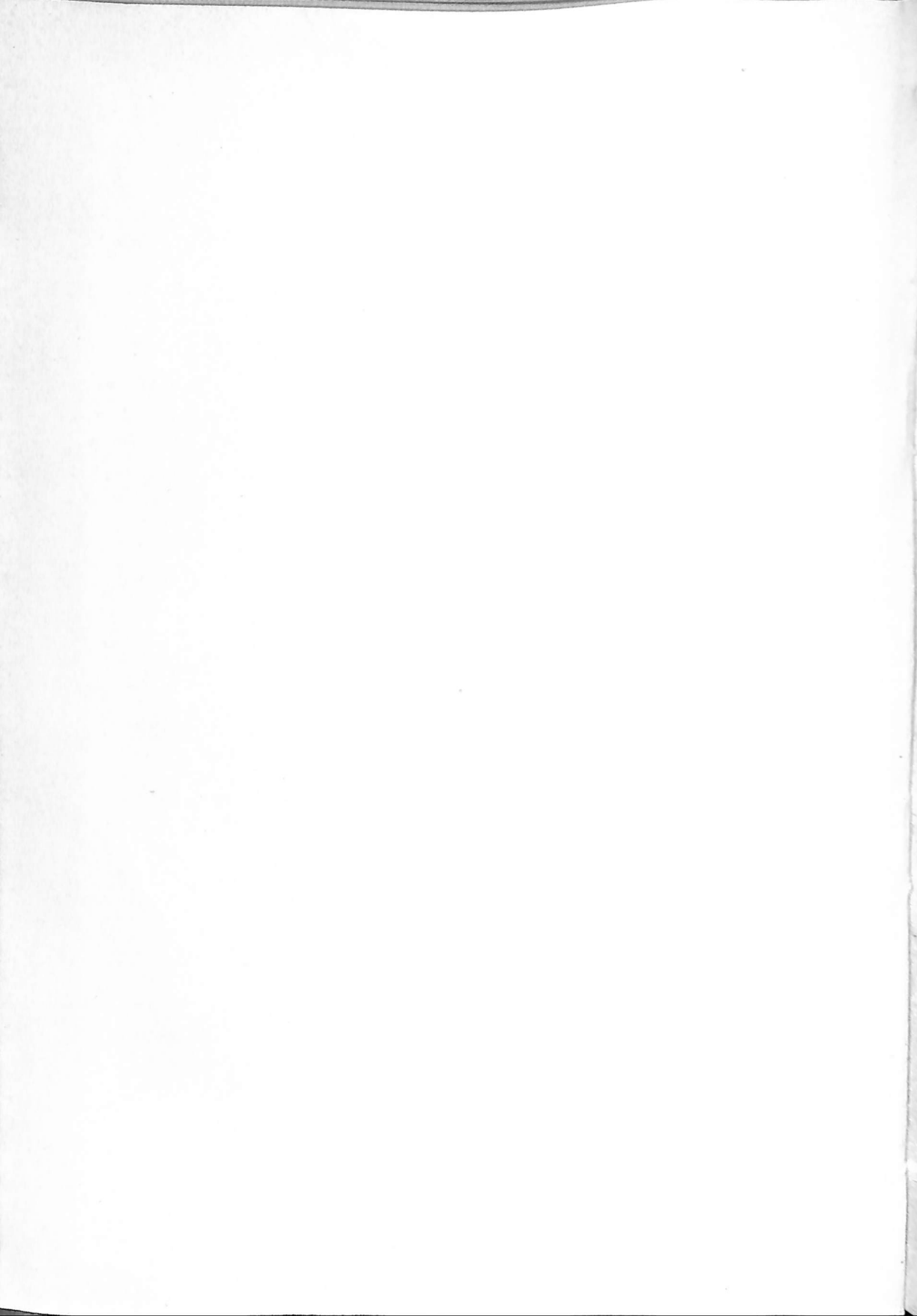
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In the sleepy town of Baler, that scarcely had a population of 2,000 souls, Manuel Luis Quezon y Molina was born on August 19, 1878, to Don Lucio Quezon and Doña Maria Molina, humble townfolk. Don Lucio was a schoolteacher and, though he earned a small salary, commanded the respect of the ignorant barrio people because of his position. Nothing much has yet been brought to light of Don Lucio, except that he was a native of Peñafrancia, Paco, and that he went as a young man to Baler and settled down there. Whatever records Don Lucio and his forefathers must have left in the Paco church are lost to posterity, for with the Revolution of 1896-98 all the church documents and papers were burned and destroyed. Baler, located on the eastern shores of central Luzon, largest island of the Philippine archipelago, was then the *cabecera* or capital of the district known as *El Principe*, now called the province of Tayabas. The town had been founded in 1609 by Fray Blas Palomino and six other priests of the Franciscan order, or 11 years before the Pilgrims arrived at Plymouth on the Mayflower. The river San Jose winds its way from the mountains to the west, past the little town to the blue waters of the Pacific ocean. In 1735, the river had risen and flooded the town, wreaking



THE TOWN OF BALIC, TAYABAS
Where our President and First Lady first saw the light of day.

Photo by U. S. Army Air Corps



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much havoc among the inhabitants. The soil was poor, and the younger people emigrated across the mountains to the rich lowlands of central Luzon. Some sort of fame was achieved by the town of Baler during the war between the Spanish and the Filipino forces. A troop of 60 Spanish soldiers and officers were besieged in the stone church of the town by the Filipino insurgents for a period of about 10 months. No relief could be sent to them from the Spanish headquarters at Manila, as the Filipinos had control of the outlying provinces. Food and drink were rationed out in tiny quantities to the men serving under the flag of Castile. They suffered horribly from beri-beri and starvation, but with Spanish pride and fortitude—qualities which made possible the conquest of the Americas in the sixteenth century—they taunted the Filipinos to assault them. By the time news that the Spaniards had surrendered to the Americans in Manila had reached Baler, only 30 of the original 60 were alive. The Spanish troop had lost twice as much from disease as from desertion and casualties of war. When General Aguinaldo heard of the valiant stand made by the Spaniards in Baler, he gave special orders that those men were to be treated as friends and not as prisoners of war, and were to be sent back to Spain. The commander, Captain S. M. Cerezo, wrote in 1904 an account of that blockade called "The Siege Of Baler." The book makes a curious, short reference to Don Pedro Aragon, brother-in-law of Doña Maria and the president's future father-in-law:

"When Carreno was dying (he was the parish priest and 77 at that time), a truce was called and there appeared a certain Pedro Aragon, resident of Baler and known as the 'husband of the Zeneida', who wanted to talk with the priest. He told us that he had been imprisoned in the capital for having been implicated in the uprising at Mota, but had been set free after the surrender of the town, and that he came to tell this to the parish priest, as well as other important news. . . . He waited for a short time, but as it had started raining and the priest had not gone out, he suspected that we might capture him and he left running without heeding our calls."

Except for this brief burst of glory, Baler was forever destined to remain a small town, and would never have been singled out from

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thousands of other small towns in the archipelago, had not President Quezon been born there some 57 years ago.

Realizing the need of an education for his son, Don Lucio managed to save money from his meager salary. He was pretty well-off by the standards of the *tao* or farmer of the fields, for he was a salaried *maestro*. Don Lucio also possessed a two-hectare rice land which he cultivated, and from the proceeds of this land, he was able to save a few hundred pesos for the education of his son Manuel.

Young Manuel, even then, was a bright youngster—rather naughty and full of pranks, as those who knew him then recall. He learned his ABC's from his father and mother, and later on from the parish priest of the town. The Quezons lived like any other Filipino family: they had a humble nipa house, with a split bamboo floor, and ate mostly rice gleaned from their field and fish caught from the nearby sea. Once in a while, they varied their diet with venison and wild honey bought from hunters who came from the adjacent forests. During those days, a Filipino family could live in a small town like Baler on four pesos a month and rice.

An aunt, besides his parents, taught him his three R's when he was five. Four years later, they had taught him all that they could, and deemed him ready for further education in Manila.

“Try to improve and educate yourself, as you've got the qualities to be great—and always tell the truth” was the parting advice of the good parish *padre*, an advice which President Quezon has never forgotten.

From Baler to Manila is about 80 miles as the crow flies. A road passes north of Manila up to the fertile plains of central Luzon. To reach this road from Baler, at the junction in Cabanatuan, some 40 miles of rough mountain trails have to be traveled on horseback and on foot. So young Manuel, accompanied by his father, crossed the wild mountain trails of the forbidding Sierra Madre mountains southwest to San Isidro, Nueva Ecija, and from there to Manila. Once in the capital, he was enrolled at the Colegio de San

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Juan de Letran, a secondary school managed by the Dominican priests, and one of the two leading schools in those days.

As he did not have very much money, young Manuel was forced to become a common *muchacho* or houseboy for a priest at the Franciscan convent in the Walled city. He received no salary and merely worked for his room and board. As he found that working and studying at the same time was too strenuous, Don Lucio decided to board young Manuel in the house of a cousin living in Paco, then a suburb of Manila, about three miles from the school. Classes started at seven o'clock in the morning, and as Manuel had to walk to school, the daily strain soon told on his health. He was not very strong at the time and became sick.

The following year, Don Lucio decided to enter his son as a boarder in the school. Manuel was naturally bright, and during his five years at Letran, from 1889 to 1894, got the highest grades. According to the custom of the time, he made an application to take the examinations for the Bachelor of Arts degree on February of 1894. The application, written by an expert penman, and signed by him, is still preserved in the files of the Dominican fathers. He was given the degree on February 24, 1894, for having passed with highest honors the requirements of the secondary course.

Even as a student, Quezon exhibited traits which were to remain with him later in life.

"He was wide awake and naturally bright—so talented that he became first in his class though he was too lazy to study," relates a former classmate, who once tutored him in Latin. "He was popular among the boys, he was a good orator, and became a leader of his class."

It goes without saying that he was extremely mischievous, and not infrequently fell into the bad graces of his teachers. Once, when one of his teachers had to give Holy Communion to several scores of fellow students, young Manuel purposely placed only a few wafers in the cup. Thus only a few of the students were able to receive Holy Communion that morning. The priest was, to say

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the least, furious. But without waiting to be asked who was the culprit, young Manuel came forward and confessed his prank. His frankness gained him a reprieve from the irate teacher-priest, and he got off with a light punishment.

Father Serapio Tamayo, now rector of the University of Santo Tomas, the institution of higher learning run by the Dominican fathers, once had to stop a fight between Manuel and another boy.

Señorito Manuel was fond of music and gymnastics. He managed to learn the piano, and with two schoolmates—now Judge Francisco Ortigas and Francisco Imperial—furnished the music for school celebrations and graduations. Forty years later, though he had not touched the piano since his students days, Don Manuel gingerly picked with one finger the tune of the Philippine anthem on board the *Ile de France*, thus enabling the ship's orchestra to play the piece in honor of the Philippine delegation.

"Bluffer", or *gulatero* in Tagalog, was the nickname given him by his classmates, for Manuel even at that time was a showman and intuitive psychologist. He bluffed his classmates in games and studies. He exercised assiduously, and built up a physique which stood him in good stead in later years; he has always been physically vigorous until his illness in 1931. He practised on the parallel bars, and somersaulted from spring boards—he was quite a gymnast during his student days.

While a student at Letran, the vice-rector, the Rev. Father Lorenzo Garcia, found that Manuel had never been confirmed. In the Philippines, Catholic children are confirmed at the age of three or four. So in keeping with Catholic belief, Manuel was confirmed in the school chapel—at the age of 14! His godfather was Dr. Rafael Bertol, his tutor in mathematics. Many years later, when Don Manuel was president of the Manila Railroad company, he accidentally met Dr. Bertol, who was carrying on an insignificant practice in the town of Baliwag, Bulacan. In memory of the old days, grateful Don Manuel appointed him doctor of the railroad company.



M. R. Y P. Rector y Cancellario de
la R. y P. Universidad de Sto. Tomás de Manila.

D. Manuel Quizon y Molina, natural
de Balabán Distrito del Príncipe, de 16 años de edad,
alumno interno del Colegio de San Juan de Letrán, ma-
triculado en 5.^o año de 2.^a Enseñanza, expone:

Que teniendo aprobadas todas las asignaturas de
estudios generales, menos las que componen el 5.^o año,
y discando, terminados que sean los exámenes, sujetarse
al quince próximo al grado de "Bachiller en Artes"

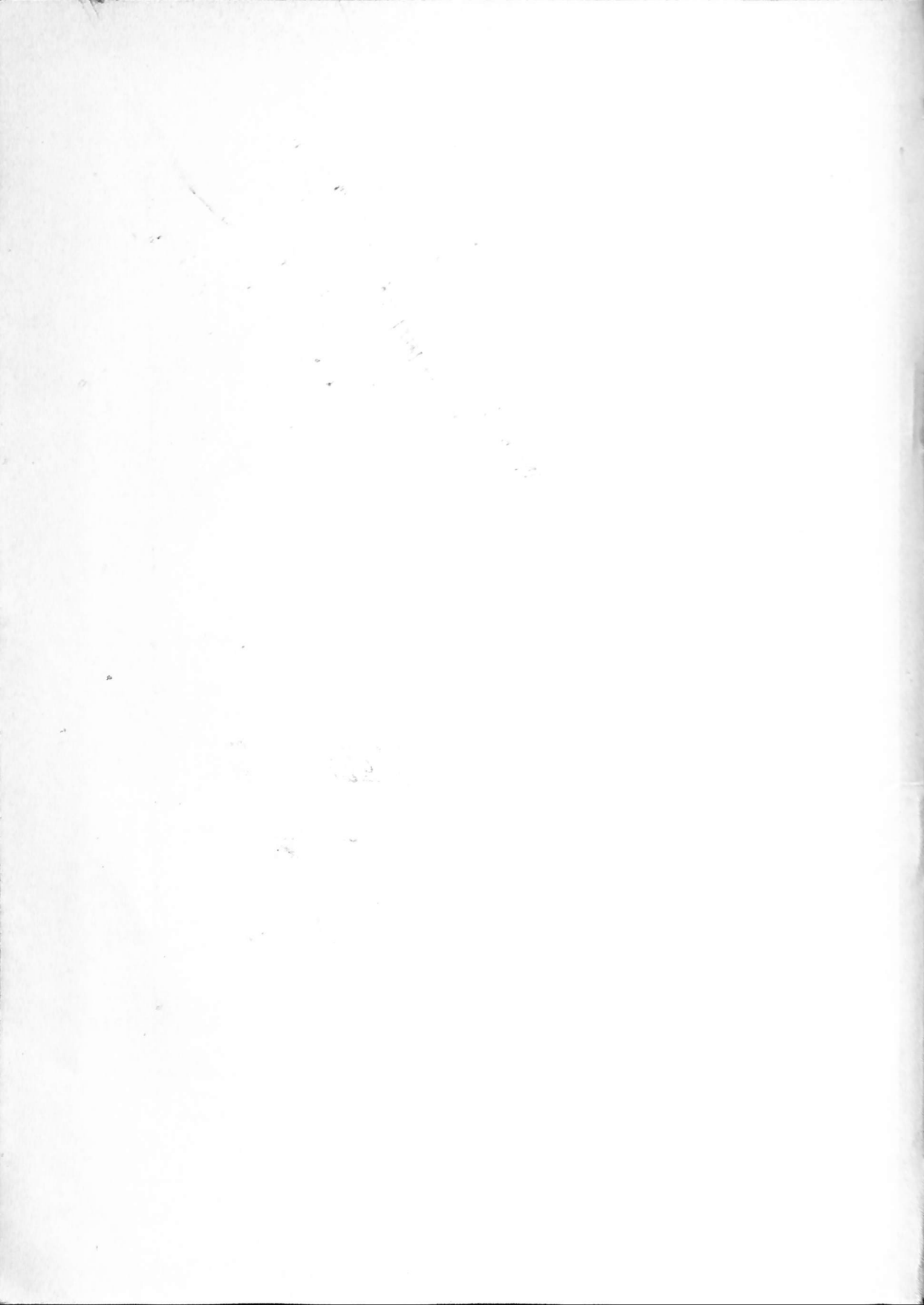
V. R. Y suplica; si digno proveer dicho examen, caso de salir
aprobado en las asignaturas que actualmente cursa.

Gracia que no duda alcanzar de la notoria bon-
dad de V. R. Y cuya vida Dios que m. a. f.

Manuel Quizon Molina

Manila - Letrán 8 de febrero de 1874

At the age of 16, Don Manuel made the customary application for examinations at the San Juan de Letran. An expert penman made the application. Notice the President's signature then, and compare it with the other later signatures.



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His uncle, Don Pedro Aragon, used to accompany him on the trips from Manila to Baler. Halfway they would stop for two days or so in San Isidro, Nueva Ecija. Young Manuel was the terror of the town's Chinese storekeepers.

"You indecent sons of Cathay," he would shout at them. Cowed by his authoritative tone, the *tenderos* kept silent, while Manuel inwardly laughed with glee.

Fond of parties, especially when fair ladies were present, he would pound on the piano the sentimental tune of "Cuando El Amor Muere"—"When Love Dies". Many a sigh was heaved from fair bosoms whenever the dashing student from Letran played that piece on the piano.

By 1894, the few hundred pesos that Don Lucio had kept for Manuel's education was spent. He had even borrowed money to see his son complete the secondary course. So he simply told his son that he could no longer support him through the university. Manuel came to Manila and spoke to his Dominican professors, who had become fond of him. They secured a job for him as one of the "Capistas" or tutors of the university with room, board and free tuition. His professors, knowing Quezon's temper, was afraid he could not get along with the Spanish students who formed an unruly lot. But young Quezon managed to curb his quick temper and got along remarkably well.

In the preparatory year of law, he romped away with honors, and a prize for the course on the critical history of Spain. He took the first year of law from 1895 to 1896, but his studies were interrupted by the revolution against Spain. General Aguinaldo had organized the revolt throughout the provinces of Luzon and the Visayas. The pact of Biak-na-bato was signed, and so from 1897 to 1898, young Quezon was able to study another year of his law course. But on May 1, 1898, Admiral Dewey defeated the Spaniards in Manila bay, and by August the Filipinos began their hostilities against the newcomers. Manuel, who had been too young to fight against the Spaniards, was now old enough to take up arms

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against the Yankee invaders. So he quit his studies, and joined the general staff of General Emilio Aguinaldo with the rank of lieutenant of infantry.

* * *

At this time Lieutenant Quezon was exhibiting those qualities which were to become stamped on him in later years. He was fearless, impulsive, quick to anger but as quick to forgive, somewhat arrogant and headstrong. He had black hair swept back, dark-brown piercing eyes, an aquiline nose, high cheekbones, and determined lines around the mouth and chin. He wore a thin mustache in the approved upwards fashion of young bucks, giving an aggressive military air about him.

When the Filipino forces retreated before the inexorable advance of the better-armed Americans to Calumpit, Bulacan, General Aguinaldo sent Captain Quezon on a mission to Benguet, in the Igorot country. Captain Quezon knew Colonel Alejandro Albert of the medical corps, now undersecretary of public instruction, and asked the latter if he wanted anything from Benguet.

"Some coffee," said Dr. Albert. Coffee from the mountain province was then renowned all over the archipelago for its flavor and aroma. Three weeks later, true to his word, Captain Quezon returned with a sack of first-class coffee beans as a gift for his good friend Dr. Albert.

During the rainy season of 1899, Captain Quezon was in Tarlac on leave. He had been promoted to Captain for his valor and was now earning a well-deserved leave far from the front-line trenches. A flood had destroyed the road, and one fine afternoon Captain Quezon strolled up and down the plaza with a bevy of town beauties, who were attracted by the fine military figure and handsome face of the *capitan*. The commandant of the town, who was at headquarters facing the plaza, feeling a little jealous perhaps and to show his authority, halted the group.

"Hey, you," he shouted, "what are you doing there?"

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"Taking a walk," replied Captain Quezon.

"Who gave you permission to do that?" persisted the colonel.

"Nobody—myself," answered the captain.

"Come up and talk to me," said the colonel.

"Why don't you come down?" said the captain.

"Don't you know that you're breaking rules?"

"So what?" countered the captain.

The Colonel nearly had his subordinate arrested for this impudence and lack of discipline. He burned the wires to general headquarters on the matter, and as a result Captain Quezon received post haste an order to join his forces in the front.

During the entire insurrection, Captain Quezon escaped without serious injury, though he was often found where bullets flew thickest. Once he was nicked in the arm, a mere flesh wound which rapidly healed. In true barrio fashion, his soldiers began to believe that he possessed some sort of an *anting-anting*, or amulet, to have escaped the bullets of the sharpshooting *Americanos*—specially after his aide, a Boholano by the name of Rodriguez, was badly wounded by five bullets.

Realizing that the medical corps of the revolutionary army in his district did not have the facilities to save the man's life, Captain Quezon hired a *banca* or dug-out canoe to row them to Manila—a distance of some 30 miles, from the foothills of Mariveles, Bataan, to the city. Disguised in the civilian clothes of a humble *tao*, he brought his faithful aide to the house of Dr. Albert, who called his brother Jose, now head of the pediatrics division of the Philippine General Hospital. Captain Quezon, after learning that his aide had passed the critical stage, returned to the trenches.

Many years later, when the *capitan* had become a powerful political figure, the resident commissioner in Washington, he asked for that soldier, but could not find him after a long search; in prosperity he did not forget his companion in adversity.

He rose to the rank of major, as the war kept on in 1899. He had been transferred to the staff of General Mascardo, who commanded the district northwest of Manila, in the provinces of Zambales

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and Bataan. The Filipinos were waging a losing fight, and one by one the Filipino military leaders surrendered to the Americans. Major Quezon contracted dysentery and malaria. On September, 1899, he surrendered to an American soldier, a defenseless private who was collecting botanical specimens at the foot of Mariveles mountain.

"I did not know much Spanish and he knew no English, so our conversation partook largely of pantomime or sign language," related his captor. "Pretty soon he asked me, in an offhand way, if I had time. I said to myself: 'Here's where my fancy timepiece goes, anyway'. I felt that the watch would be just the beginning and that I would be stripped also of money and all that I had, possibly even my clothes. However to my surprise, no movement was made to take the watch from me and I began to pick up courage.

"I should have said that first of all the young officer introduced himself as Major Quezon. I in turn introduced myself as Private Roy Squires. He asked me many questions about the Americans in Manila. He said he was ill and wished to know whether he would be given medical care if he surrendered. Did the Americans have good doctors in Manila? Had they set up any hospitals? And would they treat with dignity a major who surrendered?"

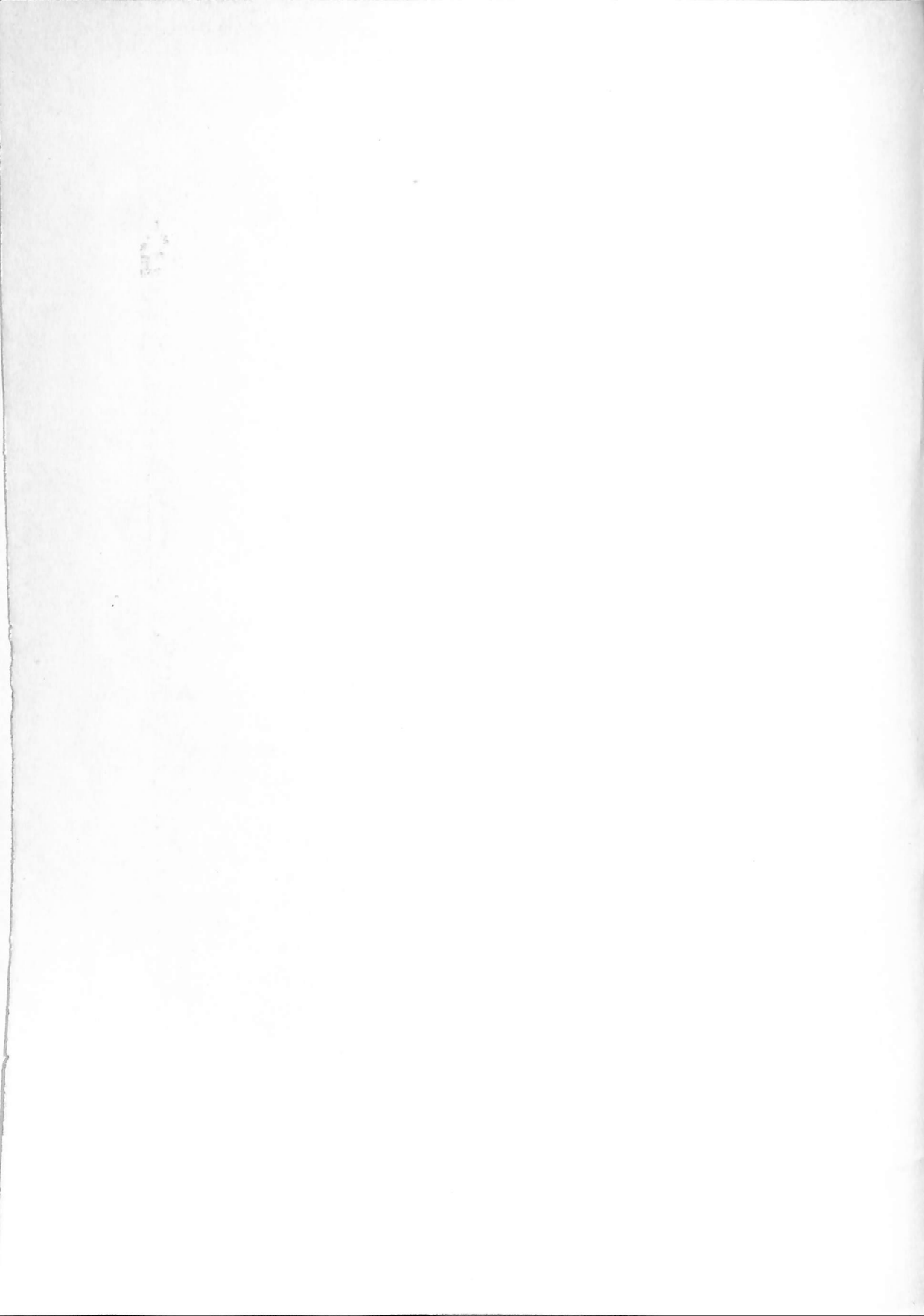
The following day, Major Quezon turned up in the American camp and surrendered to the authorities. To this day, Mr. Squires—who is now a prosperous merchant—treasures an autograph and the sword among his trophies.

Penniless and sick, he was kept in prison for six months by the American army authorities. The Alejandro Alberts brought him food until Don Francisco Ortigas, a former schoolmate, also brought him food and clothes. He was released and stayed with the Alberts in their house at 132 Ronquillo. One rainy night, a detachment of American soldiers came to the house and arrested him on the charge that he was implicated in the death of one of his co-prisoners. So back to jail on Calle Anda in the Walled City, Quezon was sent.

Father Florencio Llanos, a former teacher, one day looked out from the window of their school on Calle Anda, and heard Quezon's



A rare old photograph, now in the possession of his captor Roy Squires, when Don Manuel was a captain in the revolutionary forces of Generals Aguinaldo and Mascardo.



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weak voice calling him. He at once recognized his former favorite pupil.

"What are you doing there, man?" asked the priest.

"They've falsely accused me of murder, although I'm innocent. I'm sick—please help me," begged Quezon. Father Llanos promised to help him. Father Llanos went to the Archbishop, Monsignor Alcocer, who got in touch with the church's attorney, Mr. Hartigan. The American lawyer, in turn, convinced the military authorities that Quezon was innocent.

His former professors and friends managed to have him admitted free of charge to the San Juan de Dios hospital. For several weeks he stayed in the hospital, until Dr. Gregorio Singian—now head of the hospital and one of the most famous of Filipino physicians—took care of him.

"President Quezon was then pale and weak from the disease," relates Dr. Singian. "He was nervous and unstrung after his experiences in jail. I used to take him in my carriage for a ride, while I was making calls. There was a cholera epidemic at that time," he added with a smile, "and I noticed that my friend shook my hand gingerly after my calls on patients."

With the establishment of the civil government under Governor William H. Taft, peace reigned in the archipelago though a few stubborn military leaders were still hiding in the mountain fastnesses. Quezon decided to continue with his studies. Probably disgusted with what he had seen during the war, or merely following the yearning in his heart so common in young men of a spiritual bent, he decided to take theology at the university. That was in 1902. A jest, however, prevented his taking the course.

"What are you doing in my class?" inquired the professor in a half jesting tone. The teacher had known his headstrong character and reputation, and added in a bantering tone; "You don't belong here—I don't want you!"

So Manuel Quezon instead definitely decided to take up law. Had he been allowed to take up theology, he would have risen as brilliantly, and by now would undoubtedly have become the highest Filipino clergyman in the Catholic church, for he possesses those

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qualities for leadership and greatness which could not have been hidden or suppressed whatever the profession he had chosen to enter.

He was as poor as a church mouse and did not have a centavo with which to continue his law studies. With the aid of his former professors who were fond of him, he got a job in the provinces as an overseer in the friar estates at Dinalupihan, Bataan. Quezon knew he was getting nowhere, so a few months later he came back to Manila, where he got a job for ₱25 a month in a minor position at the Monte de Piedad, a savings bank owned by the church. He lived in the house of a *Mang* Segundo, whom he paid a nominal sum for room and board. Many years later, when he became rich and famous, he never forgot *Mang* Segundo, who had become poor and old. He made the old man a permanent guest in his house. That is one outstanding characteristic of President Quezon—he appreciates favors done to him, specially when he was poor and unknown, and never fails to do what he can in return.

In those early days of the civil government, the requirements for taking the bar examinations were not as strict as today; either three years of practice, or two years of university work, was all that was needed to qualify. While at Letran college, Quezon had been given the title of "Perito Agrimensor y Tasador de Tierras," or "Experienced Surveyor and Appraiser of Lands", besides his B. A.

The subjects he studied while at Letran and Santo Tomas, with the grades he received, were as follows:

<i>Subjects Studied</i>	<i>Where Examined</i>	<i>Grade</i>
(First Year, 1889-90)		
Latin Grammar, first course.....	Letran	Excellent
Spanish Grammar, first course.....	"	"
Christian Doctrine and history.....	"	"
(Second Year, 1890-91)		
Latin Grammar, second course.....	Letran	Excellent
Spanish Grammar, second course.....	"	"
Geography.....	"	"

EARLY LIFE, AS STUDENT AND SOLDIER

(Third Year, 1891-92)

Latin analysis and translation and Greek rudiments.....	Letran	Excellent
Universal history of Spain and the Philip-pines.....	"	"
Arithmetic and algebra.....	"	"

(Fourth Year, 1892-93)

Rethoric and Poetry.....	Letran	Excellent
Geometry and Rectilinear Trigonometry..	"	"
French.....	Sto. Tomas	"

(Fifth Year, 1893-94)

Psychology, Logic and Moral Philosophy..	Sto. Tomas	Excellent
Physics and chemistry.....	"	"
Natural History.....	"	"

The following annotations were made on his high school record: "Don Manuel Quezon y Molina, alumnus of Letran and Sto. Tomas, resident of Baler, province of the Distrito del Principe, 16 years old, was examined for the title of Bachelor of Arts on February 19, 1894, obtained the grade of excellent, and the corresponding title was bestowed upon him on February 24, 1894."

By a curious coincidence, the day that President Quezon passed so successfully his examinations in Manila was the sixth birthday of his cousin and future wife!

His school record at the University of Santo Tomas, though good, was not so imposing:

<i>Subject</i>	<i>Grade</i>
(Preparatory Course 1894-95)	
Metaphysics	Notable
General Spanish Literature.....	Excellent
Critical History of Spain.....	Excellent (Prize awarded)

(First Year, 1895-96)

Elements of Natural Law	Notable
Rules of Canon Law....	Notable
Economics and Statistics.....	Good

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(Second Year, 1896-97)

Roman Law } He left the course
Guardianship }

(Second Year, 1897-98)

Rules of Roman LawFair
Guardianship of the Indies and Eccle-
siastical Discipline.....Notable

(First Year of Theology, 1902-03)

He left the course

On February 20, 1903, he wrote his application for permission to take the bar examinations. His application, examination papers, and other record, are still preserved at the Supreme Court. The application is curious for one thing: he signed his name without the usual "L" and spelled Quezon with an "S" instead of a "Z". Many imaginative deductions could be inferred from this change; but the subject belongs more to a chirographer rather than a biographer. The grades in the subjects he took were as follows:

Civil Law.....	95	
Civil Procedure.....	96	
Mercantile Law.....	85	
Penal Code.....	93	
Private International Law.....	60	(He had time to answer only six of the ten questions.)
Criminal Procedure.....	98	

Thus by studying hard at night, while working at the Monte de Piedad during the day, he was able to pass the bar examinations with a very high grade, and on April 16, 1903, took the oath of a licensed lawyer.

Yo, Manuel Quezon juró
1.º Que soy natural de las Islas Filipinas
2.º Que soy mayor de 23 años y
3.º Que vivo en la calle Simasanes, n.º 2.
F. Sebastian

Manila 20 de Enero del 1953.

Manuel Quezon
Inscrito ante mí hoy el
día 20 de Feb. de 1953

E. H. Cole

A facsimile of the application made by President Quezon for the bar examinations.
Notice his signature, and compare with previous and present handwriting.



CHAPTER II

Years Of Preparation For Leadership

A MAN as good-looking as President Quezon is prone to have many love affairs. As Winchell would say, he felt *that way* several times over several pretty girls, but as this is not a peep-hole biography of Señor Quezon, we will have to confine ourselves to a few "innocent" anecdotes.

Señor Quezon was fond of having a good time even in his youth. He had numerous sweethearts while at school. Strict convention in those days, however, prevented any of these affairs from becoming serious, and they never passed the one-look-behind-the-fan stage. Once, while a student at Letran, he saw a pretty little thing of a *mestiza* in a second-story window.

"Before a week," he boasted to a schoolmate, "I'll be talking to her." That was quite daring in those days of innumerable petticoats and still more innumerable chaperones in the form of sharp-eyed duennas. But before a week had passed, Don Manuel had carried on a spirited conversation with her; she had condescended to talk with him through the iron-barred window on the first floor of the house.

At another time, seeing a beautiful girl in Ermita, he started a conversation with her from the street, as young men were not allowed in the same room with the young women unless they had the permission of the girls' parents. The male cousins of the girl didn't like Don Manuel, so they threatened to beat him up unless he left. With his usual impudence, our young man told them to go and jump in the bay. They came down, five of them, against the ardent suitor—and Don Manuel had to leave forcibly and rather badly bruised.

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In the years following, Señor Quezon had other and numerous escapades. Of great physical attraction and magnetism, he proved irresistible to women. Even to this day, there are many rumors and backstairs stories about the private life of President Quezon—but as we said before, this is not the story of the erotic side of his life. No biographer of President Quezon can deny, however, that he has in him the makings of a Casanova or a Don Juan. By temperament and by heritage, he belongs to that race of intrepid Spanish conquistadores who were noted for conquests made on land and sea, as well as in the ranks of the fair sex.

After passing the bar examination, Quezon did not enter politics immediately. At the invitation of his old friend Judge Francisco Ortigas, who had established a law office enjoying considerable prestige, he joined the firm at a salary of ₱150 a month. The amount was quite large in those days for a lawyer who had had no previous experience in his profession, but his old friend had not misjudged his true value and ability. He was further allowed to have his own clients and was entitled to receive fees apart from his salary. He argued his cases so well in court that he won every one of them. In association with another lawyer, Attorney Gay from Iloilo, he made about ₱2,000 in the four months he worked with Judge Ortigas. His other companions at the firm were Attorneys Eusebio Orense, Florencio Gonzales Diez, Rafael del Pan, and Casademunt.

“Attorney Quezon was a good dresser,” one of his former co-workers in the firm remembers. “He came every morning to the office quite early, spick and span like a dandy. But he always took off his coat as soon as he sat down, and as he became immersed in his work, off came his tie and cuffs as well. He had the faculty of concentrating on what he was working. He was a jolly fellow, rather roguish when it came to women, and was free and easy with his money—whenever he had some.”

He lived at that time with his partner Gay and Dr. Fernando Calderon, now director of the Philippine General hospital. Dr. Calderon was then a widower and with the two lawyers maintained bachelor quarters in the Calzada de San Sebastian, now Calle R.

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Hidalgo. The house was owned by the late Dr. Benito Valdes, whom they paid a rent of ₱180 a month. The three friends lived upstairs, while the first floor was converted into a clinic for Dr. Calderon. After some weeks, Attorney Gay moved out, and so Calderon and Quezon shared equally the expenses of the household. They had a cook by the name of Ramon, a *cochero* or driver by the name of Ilong, and two or three houseboys.

Cupid nicked Don Manuel badly at this time of his life. He fell madly in love with a certain heiress, who was as beautiful as she was rich—two requisites sufficient to make any man's heart go pit-a-pat in any clime. He courted her assiduously, and even went to Antipolo in the month of May in order to be near her. With a friend, he went to her house several times on a visit. The girl had an elderly spinster for an aunt, who acted as chaperone. Love couldn't make very much headway with such an aunt as the third party to the conversation. So like a first-class strategist, he contrived to have his friend flirt with the spinster, while he made love to the girl. But true love never did run smooth. Parents of the girl objected to his attentions; he was an obscure, impoverished *abogadillo*, worth next to nothing. They bundled off the girl on a trip to Europe and she eventually married somebody else. Señor Quezon was heartbroken—but not for long. His gay spirits were too irrepressible, and after some time he was back to his life of a carefree bachelor.

When they first moved into the house, they gave Quezon the money with which to pay for the installation of electric lights. He had to leave, unfortunately, for Tayabas the following morning and forgot to pass by the electric light company. So for the next three nights, Calderon and Gay ate their supper by candlelight. Quezon had forgotten to have the electricity connected, and was profuse in his apologies when he came back some days later.

Don Lucio Quezon, in the meantime, had died shortly after the revolution, and so Don Manuel had to return to his province, Tayabas, in order to file a civil suit for the recovery of the land of his deceased father. The land had been unlawfully occupied by

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another party. He noticed that he had a better future by hanging out his shingle in Tayabas rather than in the capital, so he came back to Manila and severed his association with Mr. Gay. He got hold of several cases, civil as well as criminal, and won every one of them. The most famous lawyer of that province was then Atty. Martinez Llanos, but the newcomer promptly took his clientele away. Señor Quezon was well on his way to bigger things.

His reputation as a bold, shrewd lawyer grew and eventually reached the ears of the powers that were in Manila. Dr. Pardo de Tavera, a member of the Philippine Commission, was looking around for bright young Filipinos to join the government service; that sage bibliophile knew that the hope for the advancement of the country lay in the youth of the land. So he offered the job of provincial fiscal, or prosecuting attorney, for Mindoro to twenty-five-year-old Manuel Quezon. Quezon hesitated for some time before accepting the offer. As a lawyer in Tayabas, he was making over a thousand pesos a month, while the post of fiscal paid only ₱150 a month. He finally accepted the offer on September, 1903. Six months later, he was promoted to Tayabas, until September, 1904, when he resigned to resume his law practice. With his quick temper, he had disagreements with his superiors and for this reason decided to get out of the government service. It came about in this manner:

One day an American lawyer, Francisco J. Berry, dropped in at the office of Fiscal Quezon of Tayabas. Without removing his hat, he asked whether the contracts he had previously left in Mr. Quezon's office had already been inscribed. At that time, the provincial fiscal had something to do with the registration of deeds. Paying no attention to the lack of manners on the part of the visitor, the young fiscal rummaged around his desk and finally found the papers in one of the drawers.

"Sorry I haven't been able to register them for lack of time," said Señor Quezon with an apologetic smile.

Mr. Berry glared at the fiscal. As owner of the *Cablenews*, the most elaborate and influential English daily in the archipelago, he

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was not accustomed to meet delay in the hands of provincial officials—much less young fiscals who were just cutting their wisdom teeth. So he exploded and gave vent to what he thought of Filipino officials, and in particular of the provincial fiscal of Tayabas.

Fiscal Quezon raised his eyebrows in surprise, while his nostrils began to twitch ever so lightly in repressed anger.

"I'll file administrative charges," threatened Mr. Berry, "for dereliction in the discharge of your duties!"

"Get out—and stay out!" shouted the fiscal as he rose and pointed to the door. The visitor glared back for a few minutes, then left suddenly without saying a single word.

Fiscal Quezon knew how powerful and influential the American lawyer was in government circles, but that did not mean that he could bully a Filipino. Berry's violent insistence that the papers be registered made Quezon suspect that all was not well. He examined the papers and found that they were deeds of sale executed by about 25 persons, who were then incarcerated in the provincial jail on charges of brigandage. The fiscal immediately wondered how an American lawyer, a newcomer in Tayabas, could have acquired so much land bought with cash, according to the documents. So he went to the jail and found from the prisoners the facts of the transaction. Mr. Berry had offered his services to defend them, and had made them sign the documents of sale in the belief that the papers were mere agreements to secure payment of attorney's fees.

From the jail, Quezon went to the justice of the peace, whose signature appeared in the papers, as having apparently ratified the transaction.

"Have these documents been read and acknowledged by these 25 men before they were signed?" asked the fiscal.

"No," said the justice of the peace. "They were brought in by Mr. Berry already prepared. He told me that they were mere undertakings, so I signed my name in acknowledgment."

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In spite of Mr. Berry's influential position, and in spite of his belonging to the race of the sovereign power, Quezon immediately filed 25 informations for estafa against him, and demanded his immediate arrest. That action of the young Tayabas fiscal was an extremely daring thing to do in those days—in 1904—as the influence of the military régime was still felt throughout the archipelago. There were still numerous Filipinos in jail accused of brigandage, and a move like that would only bring reprisals in its wake. But knowing that he was only doing his duty, it was characteristic of him to carry the struggle to the very end.

The five best American lawyers in the archipelago, including former Associate Justice F. C. Fisher of the Supreme Court, W. W. Bishop, one time fiscal of the city of Manila, and former Judge W. C. Kincaid, defended the publisher of the *Cablenews*, but all the Philippine courts found Berry guilty of the charges. The lawyer-publisher was convicted and disbarred, but did not enter jail as he forfeited his bond by escaping from the country.

Lawyers of established practice in Manila, Americans as well as Filipinos, began to eye this youngster from Tayabas. They admired his courage, but expressed doubts as to his future. He had made too many powerful enemies in the American community, some said, and some day would find himself in hot water with the government—which was mainly staffed by Americans.

The reprisal was not long in coming. As an aftermath of this case, and for his own personal reasons, Captain Ofley, then the governor of Mindoro, brought administrative charges against Quezon, who had already been promoted to Tayabas. Without being previously informed of the charges, an *ex-parte* investigation was held in Mindoro and witnesses were called to testify against him during his absence.

These charges were found to be groundless, though it was a fact that Fiscal Quezon had physically attacked some person or other. Disgusted by what happened, Quezon resigned against the advice of Judge James Ross, then the inspector of provincial

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fiscals. Judge Ross had tried to appease Quezon by telling Secretary of Justice Henry Ide, in his presence, that he was the best provincial fiscal in the service—but to no avail.

As a lawyer once more in his home province, he made several thousand pesos. He charged those clients who could pay, but gave free service to the poor and the oppressed. He consequently earned the gratitude of the masses, both as a private lawyer and a provincial fiscal. Early in 1906, he decided to enter politics, and on January 15 was elected councilor for the provincial board of Tayabas. Knowing his strength with the masses, he resigned from the council the following month to enter his candidacy for governor of Tayabas, and was duly elected despite the opposition of the rich and influential families of the province.

His two rival candidates belonged to the richest and most influential families in Tayabas. The upper classes were against him, as they considered him an unprincipled upstart with radical ideas of helping the masses. In those days, the councilors from the various municipalities elected the provincial governor. The councilors, who had come to the provincial capital, could not make up their minds whom to elect governor after one day. So it was necessary for Quezon to house and feed his electors during their stay in town.

With Quezon, money has always been "easy come, easy go". And at that particular time, he was broke. The deadlock continued for several days, as each candidate could not muster sufficient votes to win. His political enemies knew that he was penniless, and so tried to squeeze him out of the race by having all the stores in town with which he had credit closed to him. Unable to feed his supporters, he was faced by political disaster. In the nick of time, his *lavandera* or washerwoman came forward and insisted on feeding his supporters with food purchased by her life savings. Though he is ordinarily too proud to accept such a sacrifice, he yielded to her demands and finally won the protracted contest for governorship. Several years later, when he was a famous man, he asked for that humble *lavandera* in one of his visits home. The sight of that

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bent little woman, almost blind, who had never asked him for a reward, made him burst into tears before an audience of several hundred people.

He had the support of the masses and the friendship of a few officials, such as General Bandholtz, his predecessor, who was the only American ever to become governor by popular vote. Councilor Quezon won the elections to become the first Filipino elective governor of Tayabas. His election was protested, one of the grounds being that those who had voted for him were the uneducated. But his election was confirmed, and he was duly inaugurated governor of the province.

A fast thinker in tight spots, he possesses an iron nerve and does not know fear. As governor, he had incurred the deep enmity of an influential political chieftain who had sworn to kill him on sight. One day he encountered the man in a narrow corridor. To avoid meeting, one or the other had to turn back. Governor Quezon, however, kept on walking and then hailed the person: "*Amigo*, have you any cigarettes? Can you spare me one?"

This greeting so disarmed the would-be enemy that he forgot his hatred and the two became fast friends.

Like a good politician, he had made several speeches against the friars in his campaign for governor. In one of his trips to Manila, he met Father Llanos, his one-time teacher, in the streets.

"What's this I hear about your attacking us?" inquired the priest.

"Oh, that's just politics," replied Governor Quezon with a disarming smile.

When Father Llanos died several years later, Quezon cried like a child at his funeral.

While governor of Tayabas, Quezon called on Doña Ignacia Albert, wife of his old friend, Dr. Albert. "You've both been so good to me," he said, "that I consider you as my father and mother.

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I want to let you have the first money I've ever saved in my whole life—please keep it." He presented as a memento a half ounce gold piece, a Spanish eight-peso gold coin.

Soon after his election as governor, Quezon once spent the night in a friend's house in one of the towns. At midnight, a fire started in neighboring house. Governor Quezon, aroused from a deep slumber, rushed out and personally helped in putting out the conflagration. This personal deed so impressed the townspeople—who thought that he had purposely traveled several miles from the capital to the town—that Governor Quezon's popularity increased by leaps and bounds.

Skeptical American officials in Manila, who had doubted his abilities as fiscal and lawyer, began to hold a high regard for this youngster from Tayabas once he became governor.

"The experience gained in administering provincial governments proved helpful to the Filipinos who later reached high public office," wrote ex-Governor W. Cameron Forbes. "Some of the provincial governors showed marked ability in meeting and solving their problems. Governor Manuel Quezon. . . gave good service as governor of the province of Tayabas. He also assumed the initiative and used his official position beyond the legal powers of a provincial governor in requiring citizens to improve their own property by planting great areas of coconut and hemp—an extra-legal performance which resulted in much greater prosperity in that region." In fact, this use of extra-legal powers got him into difficulties later in his assiduous struggle for independence during the administration of General Wood. It was his characteristic to overstep the limits in the pursuit of a worthy goal.

Governor Quezon was particularly active in subduing banditry in his province. He personally accompanied and led the expeditions of constabulary soldiers against the bandits, and his personal bravery aroused the admiration of the American community in the Philippines. With General J. G. Harbord, then head of the constabulary forces, he hiked all day and night over the mountain trails without

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food or sleep until they met the bandit forces. A hand to hand struggle ensued, and the *tulisanes* were captured and jailed.

Possessing those qualities for leadership, proved during his terms as fiscal, councilor and governor, Don Manuel was ready to be catapulted into national prominence.

On July, 1907, he resigned from the governorship to enter his candidacy for a seat in the first Philippine Assembly. By one of the largest majorities in that July election, he won in the first district of Tayabas over Domingo Lopez by the count of 2,237 against 840 votes. This time the rich, as well as the poor, were behind him.

CHAPTER III

The Making Of A Hero

IN those early days of civil government, the majority of Filipino officeholders belonged to the Federalist party, which favored the annexation of the archipelago to the United States. This party was about the only one in existence, as it was the only one recognized and supported by the American authorities. The party was composed mostly of older men, like Dr. Pardo de Tavera, Felipe Agoncillo, Benito Legarda, Felipe Buencamino, Antonio Regidor, Pedro Paterno and others who had achieved prestige during the revolution. This party, recognizing that the admission of the Islands as a state was impracticable, revised its platform in 1905 to declare itself in favor of ultimate independence. There were several small parties, more or less nationalistic in their aspirations. Early in 1907 these parties were brought together in the *Partido Nacionalista*, or Nationalist party, under the leadership of the younger men composed of Sergio Osmeña, Manuel Quezon, Rafael Palma, Alberto Barretto and others.

The election of 1907 was thus a fight between age and youth, between conservatives and radicals, between the "ins" and the "outs". The result was a decisive victory for the Nationalist party.

The masterly way with which Sergio Osmeña got himself elected Speaker and the way he ran the Assembly cannot be omitted in any résumé of Philippine politics. Like Quezon, Osmeña had aroused the admiration of the Americans by his efficient administration of Cebu as provincial governor, and by his personal bravery in capturing bandits. He had been elected, and re-elected president of the league of provincial governors and had thus gained national political prestige before he was thirty years old. High American

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officials liked the political technique of these youngsters in contrast to that of the older men, who were cramped by the Spanish style of never committing themselves on any question. At that time there were several small political parties, and it was impossible to unify them under one leadership because of the lack of discipline. Personalities, rather than cohesive groups, were dominant in Philippine politics.

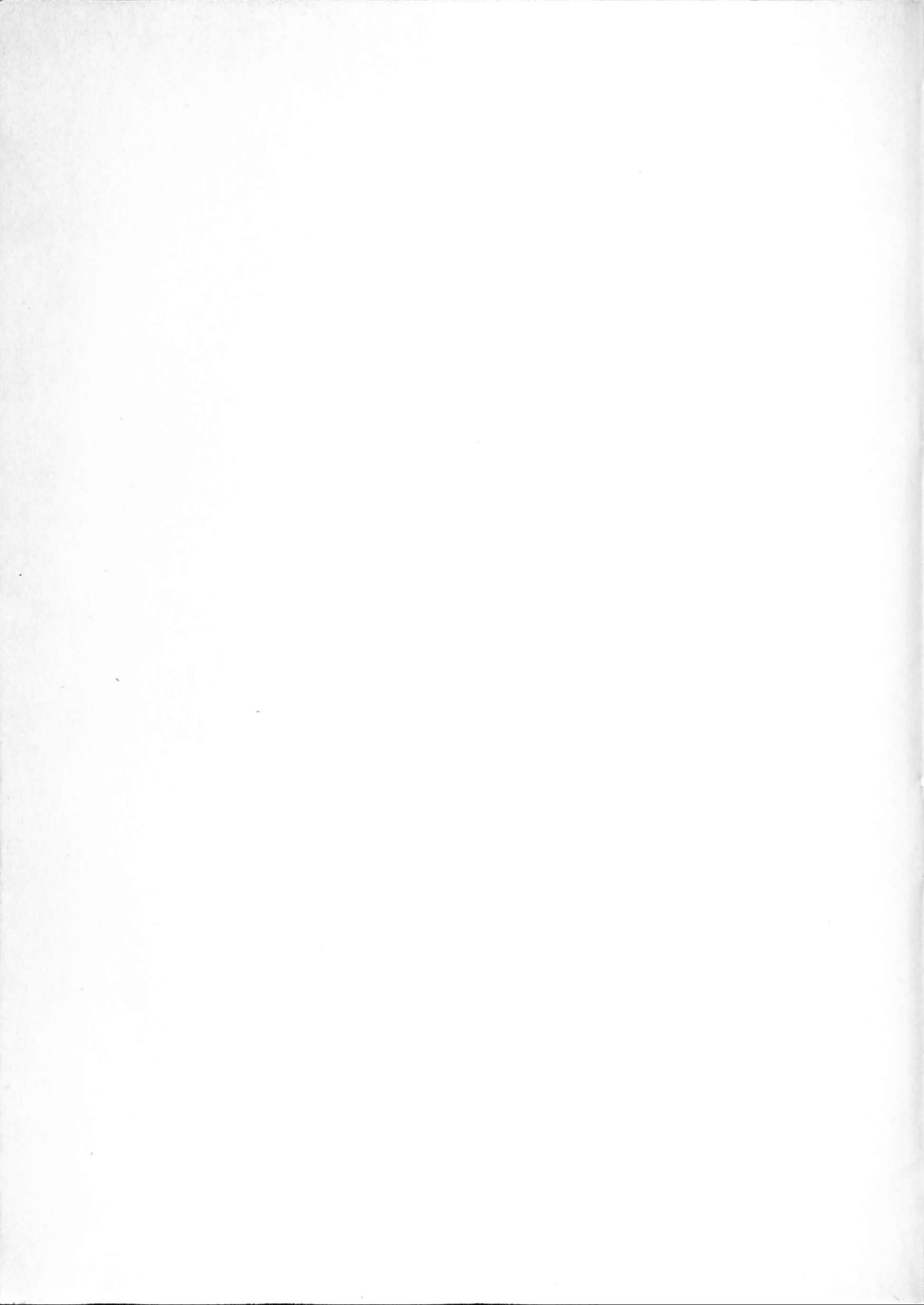
Osmeña, during the three months prior to the first session of the Assembly, used Quezon as his right-hand man in convincing the younger delegates to follow his leadership, and Rafael Palma as his second lieutenant in enticing the elder politicians from the folds of the Federalist party. The July elections gave the Nationalists 32 members, the independents 20, the Progressives (the old Federalist under a new name) 16, the *Independistas* 4, and one *Centro Catolico*. So well did Osmeña's henchmen work that by the first session, the Assemblymen were classified into 58 Nationalists, 16 Progressives, and six independents. Osmeña, who was not yet thirty, was unanimously elected speaker. He ran this and the succeeding Assemblies with a smoothness that even a Mark Hanna or a Boss Tweed would have envied. For the next decade and half, Sergio Osmeña could very well say like King Louis, "*L'etat c'est moi.*"

In recognition of his ability, and as reward for his services in ironing out difficulties, Assemblyman Quezon was picked by Speaker Osmeña to become majority floor leader. He was also made chairman of the most important committee—that of appropriations. On the floor of the Assembly, Delegate Quezon distinguished himself by his oratory and was instrumental in dimming the lustre of another great and influential figure of that day: Dominador Gomez, who had the solid support of the working class in Manila. Whenever Osmeña needed a strong hand to whip unruly members into party discipline, he relied upon the fiery majority floor-leader for the task. On July, 1908, when Governor Taft wanted a member of the Nationalist party in the Commission, Osmeña chose Palma, a more prudent and tactful personality, for the job, while Quezon remained in the Assembly for strong-arm work. The Commission



DON MANUEL L. QUEZON

As he looked when he became a member of the first Philippine Assembly, back in 1907. He was the second most powerful political personage in the archipelago—even before he reached his thirtieth year!



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performed a dual rôle; it was the executive branch of government as well as the upper legislative body which passed laws in conjunction with the lower house or Assembly.

The Nationalist party, which had started out with the platform asserting Filipino capacity and expressing the desire for independence, began to co-operate with the Commission in passing constructive laws for the benefit of the country. The Federalists joined the radicals, and abandoning their former stand of friendship with the Americans, began accusing the Nationalists with being pro-Americans. Osmeña and his men got along admirably with the Commission, which was then composed of four Americans and three Filipinos, but it was poor politics on their part. Following the tenets of good politics, and to avoid the attacks of the Federalists, they often quarreled with the Commission.

The majority in the Assembly had a squabble with the American Commissioners over the appropriation bill, and from 1910 to 1913, no general appropriation bill was passed. In these debates, Quezon shone on the floor in his attacks against the alleged excessive sums included in the general appropriation bill.

His ungovernable temper, which had gotten him into a scrap while he was fiscal of Mindoro, again cropped out while he was an Assemblyman. The editor of a newspaper in Spanish, *La Democracia*, had been attacking Quezon for his record as fiscal of Mindoro. The attacks were so scurrilous that on January 7, 1909, Quezon, accompanied by Assemblymen Juan Villamor and Lerma, paid a call to the editorial offices of the newspaper. Upon seeing the editor, Quezon held him by the neck, shook him as a terrier would shake a rat, then pushed him away so vigorously that he fell to the floor. Mutual friends separated the two assailants. Henceforth, editors were more careful in criticising Quezon.

President Quezon has always been grateful to his former teachers and benefactors. The revision of the Torrens title to land was made while he was in the Assembly. By an oversight on the part of the Dominican fathers, a piece of their property valued at ₱100,-

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000 located in the Walled city had been declared as belonging to the government and entered officially as such in the records. When Father Tamayo returned from the provinces and learned what had happened, he rushed to his former pupil for help. Quezon approached the governor general, who readily gave his consent to the return of the property, but the land could not be returned unless repurchased back or an error was declared. The government was not to blame for the error, however, and so the petitioners were in a quandary. Resourceful Quezon then approached Fiscal Ramon Avanceña, now chief justice of the Supreme court, who suggested that the courts were the only remedy. As a result, the court presided by Judge Roman Lacson ruled that the Torrens title secured by the government was—of all things—a fraud! This is about the only case of the Philippine government committing a fraud.

As a promising assemblyman, good timber for national leadership, Quezon evinced the desire to see something of the world. A great many of the Filipinos had already traveled abroad, but Quezon had been too poor to afford any kind of a trip outside of the archipelago. So a bill appropriating ₱34,000 for expenses was passed to send him as delegate to the International Navigation conference at St. Petersburg, Russia. This bill was a transparent ruse, for it was passed at a time when, even by taking the earliest transportation, the delegate could not reach St. Petersburg until after the conference was ended.

Thus in the summer of 1908, the second most powerful figure in Philippine politics, who had not yet completed his thirtieth year, left Manila for Hongkong accompanied by two secretaries. These companions were two newspapermen: Teodoro M. Kalaw, now director of the National Library, and Theo. F. Rogers, business manager of the *Free Press*. Quezon could not have chosen two more agreeable pals. As the two Filipinos had never left the blessed shores of their native land, they were prevailed upon in all sobriety by Mr. Rogers to doll up in formal morning attire—tophat, cut-away coat, stiff collar, spats, gloves, cane and all—upon landing in Hongkong.

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"Remember," warned Rogers, "you're the official representatives of the Filipino people; the British governor and other high officials of Hongkong will be at the pier to welcome you."

Needless to say, the British officials had never even heard that the trio were to land in Hongkong.

When the trio came to Paris, they promptly separated. Quezon liked the French climate and so stayed there; Rogers sailed for the United States, his home; while Kalaw felt the pangs of nostalgia and decided to take the first vessel for Manila. Despite their different return routes back to Manila, all had a ripping good time. That was President Quezon's first junket abroad, and by no means his last. Of the various officials in the insular government, he has probably traveled more than any other living Filipino. Señor Quezon liked that trip to Paris—so immensely that he decided he wanted to become a resident commissioner in Washington, D. C., as the Philippine representative in the Congress of the United States. He shrewdly guessed that the relations between America and his country would last for at least a score of years, and knew that greater political rights would be granted to Filipinos only by the President of the United States or by Congress. The post of resident commissioner, then, was a key position. Whoever brought independence, or greater self-government, to Filipinos would naturally be acclaimed as the hero of his people. The resident commissionership in Washington was his logical step for advancement. The first junket he had taken had given him the itch to see other lands, study foreign governments and customs. Furthermore, he was a handsome bachelor who had a pronounced weakness for beautiful women. Perhaps it was a combination of these reasons that made him aspire to the resident commissionership.

At any rate, when the Assembly convened in 1909, Quezon had the job in the bag. Wishing to maintain his supremacy in the political field, Osmeña naturally was opposed to sending his brilliant colleague to the United States—just in case Congress or the President might grant political concessions, as they eventually did in 1913

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and again in 1916. He foresaw the danger, and wanted his first lieutenant and potential arch-enemy at home where he could keep a watchful eye over him.

But astute Quezon had gone around to the various assemblymen and enlisted their support. When the matter came up before the house in 1909, Quezon was unanimously chosen one of the two resident commissioners. This was his first deviation from the wishes of the party head, a mild forerunner of the famous break eleven years later, when he finally dethroned Señor Osmeña from political leadership in the Philippines.

* * *

For a period of nearly eight years, or from May 15, 1909, to January 11, 1917, Manuel Quezon was one of the two resident commissioners, and during that period two important political concessions were given to Filipinos. These were the granting of a Filipino majority in the Philippine Commission in 1913 and the surrender of all legislative rights to Filipinos by the establishment of the Philippine Senate in 1916.

The Filipino nationalists who expected Commissioner Quezon to make a speech in Congress as fiery as his attacks against the Americans in Manila, were disappointed by the tame maiden speech of the junior commissioner delivered on May 14, 1910. In fact, Quezon was properly appreciative of the work done and the progress made in the Philippines under the American régime. Again Quezon was playing good politics. He had gone to Washington to beg—not to insult.

"I am glad to be able to affirm, first of all," he said, "that simultaneously with the American occupation, there has been established a more liberal government and, from that, the Filipinos have enjoyed more personal and political liberty than they ever did under the Spanish Crown. These facts are freely acknowledged throughout the length and breadth of the Islands, and my countrymen wish me most cordially to assure the House and, through it, the people

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of the United States, that they are grateful, profoundly grateful, for all the benefits that your government has conferred upon them."

Commissioner Quezon's ardent struggle to have Congress and American officials in Manila recognize him as a delegate of the Filipino people, instead of only the Assembly, began in the middle of 1910 with the visit of Secretary of War Dickinson to the Philippines. The first two resident commissioners, chosen in 1907, were selected by the Commission and the Assembly; in 1909, the Assembly took the position that it had the right to appoint both commissioners, to which the American officials objected. During all this time, the two commissioners were regarded as representatives of either the Assembly or the Commission, but not of the people. Accompanied by the then Governor-General Forbes, Secretary Dickinson went to Jolo and Zamboanga on an inspection trip. Commissioner Quezon was with them. After a speech of Secretary Dickinson, Quezon also wanted to speak, but Bostonian Forbes asked what gave him the right to talk.

"As resident commissioner," replied Quezon, "I represent the Filipino people—hence I have the right to talk to them."

"Sorry," replied the polo-playing governor, "but as commissioner you merely represent the Assembly in Congress—not the people."

His racial and national pride hurt to the quick, Quezon vowed that he would make the Americans recognize his position as a representative of the people. That incident was an important turning point in the political history of the Islands, for it spurred him to seize and encroach upon all prerogatives of the sovereign power in a dogged attempt to increase the autonomy of the Filipinos. This attitude was again reflected in his celebrated struggle against Governor General Wood a decade later.

Commissioner Quezon began his independence campaign in the influential New England states. That was in 1911. "Our trip was widely advertised," he relates, "and we found large crowds

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at every station. I got off at one of the stations with a silk hat and an overcoat. The people looked at me in astonishment. Some inquired: 'Where is the Filipino?' When I was pointed out to them, they left in disgust, as they had expected to find me in G-strings."

The junior resident commissioner had diligently studied the English language, so as to be able to speak before the American public. He mastered the new language in a short time, though he still pronounces the words with a slight Spanish inflection.

Though he had used friendly words in his maiden speech before Congress, Commissioner Quezon began to attract the attention of Congressmen by his vigorous, forceful speeches on the floor of the House. His first issue with the American administration at Manila was over the friar lands controversy. The Commission had permitted the sale of 55,000 acres of agricultural land in San Jose, Mindoro, to an American corporation. Quezon immediately attacked this transaction as inimical to the policy of conserving the land as a patrimony for future generations of Filipinos. General Edwards, then chief of the bureau of insular affairs, seeing how Quezon's outspoken attitude would embarrass the American administration back in the Islands, openly warned the junior resident commissioner that if he continued in his attacks, the general would do all in his power to have the commissioner recalled. Threats have never diminished Quezon's campaign for a worthy cause, and have always produced a contrary effect. Needless to add, Commissioner Quezon remained in his post until he chose to resign in 1916 to assume the presidency of the insular senate.

The new commissioner brought a new technique with him to Washington, in securing publicity for independence. Prior to his arrival, the two resident commissioners were Pablo Ocampo, a Nationalist party man, and Benito Legarda, a Progressive. The former made speeches in favor of independence, according to his party tenets, while the latter favored annexation with America. Ocampo and Legarda thus nullified each other in their propaganda work, and did not present a united front in their political demands. Prior to the arrival of these two commissioners in the United States

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in 1907, the American public learned about the archipelago through American writers, who were dubious about the capacity of Filipinos for self-government. Secretary Dean C. Worcester of interior wrote extensively for American periodicals, and held the opinion that the natives were not yet fit for independence. He was a faculty member of the University of Michigan, had made a scientific trip to the Islands just before the Spanish-American war, and was thus regarded as an authority on things Philippine; but unfortunately, he was also an ethnologist fond of writing about headhunting Igorots, and unwittingly gave Americans in the United States the impression that all Filipinos were savage cannibals. Furthermore, the appearance of non-Christian Filipinos at the St. Louis International Exposition in 1906 gave rise to the erroneous belief among Americans that the majority of Filipinos were either Igorots or Moros.

Commissioner Quezon directly undertook to combat this wrong impression of the Filipinos, and endeavored to present his fellow-countrymen as they really were to the American public.

In the beginning, Don Benito Legarda looked with disfavor upon his more energetic colleague. Rich, an influential member of the conservative party, head of one of the oldest and richest families in the archipelago, he regarded the Tayabas youngster with a critical eye. But Quezon had imbibed some of the American ways of showmanship, so much so that Don Benito wrote a letter—published in Manila newspapers—describing him as a sort of a political acrobat. Quezon, however, managed to win over his colleague and succeeded in preventing the older man from making speeches and statements which would nullify his work for independence.

The technique used in securing independence for the Philippines was related by President Quezon 20 years later, during his visit to Java in September, 1934. After he had been feted by the Dutch and American officials in Surabaya, the Javanese invited President Quezon, Undersecretary Jorge B. Vargas, and the other Filipinos to a native gathering. The Javanese delegation took the

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Filipinos in a car, and drove several miles into the remote interior. Just as *el presidente* began to wonder if he were being abducted, they stopped at a huge house, apparently the meeting place. The shutters were drawn, and native guards stood outside. Several score of Javanese welcomed the visitors and began making speeches in favor of Javanese independence.

"How did you succeed in getting Philippine independence—what methods did you use which would be useful to us in securing our autonomy from the Dutch?" asked the spokesman.

"In the first place," said President Quezon, who was feeling rather stifled in the hot, closed room; "open all these windows and shutters—then take away all your guards, hold your meetings in the open and in front of the Dutch themselves—make yourselves heard—make a hell of a lot of noise—and if you do it long enough, you'll eventually get what you want!"

By a stroke of good luck, the Democratic party was victorious in the national elections of 1912, and Governor Woodrow Wilson of New Jersey was elected president of the United States. The party which had always looked with sympathy on Filipino aspirations for self-government, ever since the time of William Jennings Bryan at the turn of the twentieth century, was to stay at the helm of government for at least the next four years. Much in the way of political concessions could be gotten in that period of time. The Filipinos hailed with great demonstrations of joy the election of idealistic Wilson, former professor of Princeton university.

The lucky star of Quezon had not failed him. The golden moment had come. And he was not the man to waste his opportunities.

Commissioner Quezon had several conferences with President Wilson over the Philippine question. In one of these conferences, he brought along his old friend, Dr. Albert, who was then in Washington as manager of the first Filipino baseball team to invade the United States. Quezon introduced Dr. Albert as the secretary of

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the Federalist or opposition party, who could give an unbiased report of conditions in the Philippines.

"There is a government," volunteered Dr. Albert, "of Americans, by Americans, and for the few Americans living there."

"Conditions in the Philippines," the president readily promised, "will soon be entirely different. The first step will be to give the Filipinos the majority in the Commission."

The conversation shifted to gubernatorial possibilities.

"The Filipinos would be glad to see Jacob Gould Schurman as next chief executive," suggested Quezon. Dr. Schurman had been chairman of the first Philippine Commission, was well versed in Philippine affairs, and a liberal. He was, however, a Republican.

"The Senate, with a Democratic majority," countered President Wilson, "will not approve his appointment."

"How about Moorfield Storey?" said Quezon after a pause. Mr. Storey was the active head of the Anti-Imperialist league and a close friend of the Filipinos.

"Too old," answered the president. Mr. Storey was then nearing 70, and the president felt that a younger and more active man would be needed. So the matter was postponed for a few months, while a suitable candidate was being picked by Commissioner Quezon.

One day, Francis Burton Harrison, a Tammany Congressman from the silk-stocking district of New York, came to Quezon's house to advocate the candidacy of a friend for the governorship.

"Why in the world," suddenly exclaimed Don Manuel, "shouldn't you yourself be the candidate?"

Rep. Harrison was taken by surprise. "Are you talking seriously?" he asked.

"Yes," answered the commissioner. "It will be a great thing to see you appointed governor general of the Philippines."

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The congressman paused. He was ranking member of an important house committee. On the other hand, to become governor general in the manner of a Roman pro-consul of old, was a distinction not to be overlooked by a wealthy, refined gentleman such as he was. He finally promised: "I'll think it over. I'll come back tomorrow to let you know."

At 11 o'clock the following morning, he accepted the proposal. "Fine," said Quezon, "now let's begin to work for it. See so-and-so, while I'll see the secretary of state so that this matter can be brought to the immediate attention of the president."

At 11:30 that morning, Commissioner Quezon had a conference with Secretary of State Bryan. He came out of the executive building an hour later, his face wreathed in smiles.

"*Chico*," he jubilantly shouted to a Filipino companion, "we've got independence. Harrison's candidacy is backed by Secretary Bryan."

Three days later, President Wilson sent the appointment of Congressman Harrison to the Senate. The grooves had been smoothed beforehand: the Senate okayed the appointment in less than six hours after receiving the papers from the president.

Manuel L. Quezon was now the maker of governors general.

Though he had done excellent work as resident commissioner, and was hailed by Filipinos as the hero of the day for having secured greater political rights, Quezon—if he wanted to—was in no position to challenge the leadership of Osmeña. The wily leader from Cebu had built a personal political machine by the rigid system of having all appointments referred to him for approval. The machine could not very well be bucked without meeting disaster. Speaker Osmeña exercised a power and discipline of party so unassailable that it would have been political suicide for the commissioner to even attempt to challenge it. To combat Sergio Osmeña, he would have to re-enter the Assembly and fight on enemy ground which was well fortified. Furthermore, Quezon must have felt that his

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work in Washington was only half done; having gotten so much, he naturally expected more, not in executive orders which could be revoked by an unsympathetic successor, but in the more permanent form of a law passed by Congress. The Democrats would stay in power at least until the end of 1916, with a good chance of staying another four years. His place, then, as a loyal party man was in Washington as resident commissioner.

President Quezon's intuitive knowledge of mass psychology was perfected during his stay in the United States. He was extremely active in making speeches and in writing for American periodicals advocating Philippine independence.

Typical of his views at that time, was an article he wrote for the *Journal Of Race Development* (January, 1915) on "Recent Progress in The Philippines":

"The Filipinos are a people of Oriental habits and types of mind, resident in the tropics, and subject to their own conditions of life and industry. It seems to me to expect them to emulate the U. S. in all particulars is a gross perversion of the teaching of human experience or of any sound political philosophy. . . . I think that the thoughtful student of race development must feel that it is far better that a nation should evolve its own type of culture and of government and should follow its own instincts in selecting a path toward the attainment of a higher civilization than that it should be made a slavish imitator of any other country or group of countries however elevated may be the civilization of the latter. I would go further than this and say that even if such a nation did not do as well in the initial stages of self-government as it might do with foreign preceptors, nevertheless the slower and less perfect progress was the more solid and stable, and therefore vastly to be preferred.

"As I have said in another connection: I question most seriously the statement that any nation can successfully direct the course of development that must be followed by another. The education of the individual is most successful when it affords the best vehicle for self-expression; the education of the nation or the race proceeds most naturally as a matter of internal evolution. Mistakes may be made, and when made they bring their own penalty. Now, as always, it is true that experience is the best teacher, and that only by endeavoring, aspiring, and striving can a government attain to practical efficiency. That has been conspicuously the history of the Anglo-Saxon race. . . .

"I do not believe that either the Filipinos or any other Eastern people, if left to themselves, would either reject or be unable to assimilate the western

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civilization. Quite the contrary. We have the example of Japan, and China herself is beginning to furnish another illustration of the same sort. Japan, without falling under the rule of another nation, nevertheless made marvellous progress within a short time. Why can Filipinos not accomplish, by using the same means, what Japan has accomplished? Who can say that Japan would have made as much progress had she fallen under a foreign yoke?

"The Filipinos are showing that they are amply capable of taking over and assimilating the beneficial ideas of western nations, adapting them to their own use, fitting them to the needs of their peculiar situation and drawing intellectual sustenance therefrom. This has been the history of successful civilizations everywhere. They have not advanced by a process of mental inbreeding, but by a process of crossing themselves intellectually with the best strains they could find, the world over. It is not progress, but just the reverse, if a nation be compelled to confine itself to imitation of another and if it be debarred from selecting useful elements of civilization, education, social custom and government wherever it can find them throughout the world.

"I refuse to test the progress of Filipinos by the extent to which they have adopted American customs, law, and civilization, whether in their desirable or in their undesirable aspects. It is a sign of progress that they have succeeded in assimilating so rapidly those elements of civilization and of thought in which America stands conspicuous. This does not mean that for the future they should be debarred from following any other models. Least of all does it signify that whenever there is a departure from American practice such departure should afford the basis for bitter criticism. In the fundamentals of civilized life and thought, Filipinos, considering the opportunities they have had, the character of their preceptors, the nature of their surroundings, have done conspicuously well."

After several years of effort, Congressman William H. Jones finally secured on August 29, 1916, the passage by Congress of a bill reorganizing the government of the Philippines on the basis of a greatly extended autonomy. Quezon himself had prepared an earlier bill which granted independence after eight years, also sponsored by Rep. Jones, but this had proved unacceptable. While the second bill was up in the Senate for consideration, the Clarke amendment was passed granting complete independence within a period of from two to four years.

Years later, when the Osmeña-Quezon split took place, President Quezon claimed that he referred the matter to the former, who was indirectly responsible for its defeat. Governor Harrison

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later explained what had happened: "About 28 Democrats bolted the party leadership and voted with the majority of the Republicans against independence: these bolting members were virtually all members of the Roman Catholic faith, and it is understood that their attitude was the result of intervention by Cardinal James Gibbons of Baltimore, acting, it is supposed, at the instigation of the ecclesiastical authorities in the Philippines.

In 1913, Cardinal Gibbons had written to Commissioner Quezon: "I am convinced that, for the present, at least, the welfare of the Islands will be better safeguarded under the care and direction of the United States. There is great difference between independence and liberty. There are countries which have independence but no liberty or freedom, whereas the Philippine Islands, although for the present not enjoying independence, have freedom and liberty."

To Speaker Osmeña in Manila, Quezon cabled as follows: "Defeat of Clarke amendment by big majority in the House, and its passage by only the vice-president's vote in the Senate, proves that I was right when I said that in my opinion Congress is against fixing an advance date for independence. I have fought all I could for Clarke amendment." The majority that Quezon spoke about was not as big as he imagined, for the amendment was defeated by a vote of 213 to 165; and had the Catholic members not bolted, the amendment would have been approved.

On August 29, 1916, the second Jones bill became law. Commenting on its passage, Quezon declared on the floor of the House: "To adopt a measure which at least represents some progress which gives assurance that ground already gained shall not be lost, is, we think, only the part of wisdom; and is dictated by every consideration of expediency and of the immediate interest of the people . . . We accept the new Jones bill, but we hold fast to our program . . . We recognize no substitute, admit no alternative, concede no reduction of our righteous demand for the absolute independence of the Philippines."

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Until the enactment of the Tydings-McDuffie act in 1934, the passage of the Jones bill was considered as President Quezon's greatest political achievement—but also his greatest lost opportunity. As Maximo Kalaw, political scientist, has pointed out, the preamble to the Jones law was a glorious victory for the independence cause. The preamble states: “. . . it has always been the purpose of the people of the United States to withdraw their sovereignty over the Philippine Islands, and to recognize their independence as soon as a stable government could be established therein. . .” But Commissioner Quezon also missed a precious opportunity in failing to secure in the Jones bill a more liberal provision for Filipino autonomy through the neglect of details. He was not an expert on constitutional matters; his fault was one of omission rather than commission. He had already prepared a cable asking for a Filipino committee to come over to Washington and help draft independence legislation, but for some reason or the other, the cable was not sent. Commissioner Quezon must have immediately realized his mistake, for during Governor Harrison's administration, he was instrumental in encroaching upon the prerogatives of the chief executive. Eighteen years later, during the discussion over the Hawes-Cutting law, he admitted the oversight he committed in drafting the Jones law. If Filipino constitutional experts had only helped draft the Jones law, the painful episode with Governor General Wood half a dozen years later would not have taken place.

In the autumn of that year, Manuel Quezon returned to his native land with the Jones bill in his pocket as a gift to his countrymen. By a series of fortuitous circumstances, he was coming back after having secured a larger measure of political rights for his people.

The local boy had made good.

CHAPTER IV

The Struggle With Osmeña And Wood

LIKE a conquering hero returning from the battlefield, President Quezon was carried on the shoulders of his fellow citizens upon his arrival in Manila. He was fêted and praised everywhere he went. A new gate in the historic Walled City of Manila was named after him. His popularity, with the masses as well as with the ladies, knew no bounds.

Keeping in step with prevailing modes, Quezon had shaved off his mustache while in the United States. When he came back to Manila, his cronies kidded him about his facial change. Quezon wittily replied: "The ladies said it tickled them—so I shaved it off!"

According to his own admission, Don Manuel twice tried to resign from politics at this juncture of his career. Once, after the passage of the Jones bill; and the second time, a few months after he had been elected President of the newly-created Philippine Senate. Perhaps these resignations were merely noble gestures on his part; perhaps he really felt that his work was done; perhaps he had no ambitions whatsoever at the time of challenging the established leadership of the man who had been his bosom friend since their student days at the university—at any rate, he was prevailed upon by Speaker Osmeña not to do so. In spite of the danger he must have foreseen in Quezon as a rival, Osmeña knew that the aggressive, fighting qualities of his lieutenant were indispensable in their seemingly endless struggle for greater autonomy.

The Jones Bill abolished the Philippine Commission, and separated the executive from the legislative branch of the government. Executive authority was vested in the American governor general, who was appointed by the president of the United States.

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Legislative authority rested with two bodies: the Senate and the House. Veto of legislative bills remained with the governor, though the legislature by a two-thirds majority could override the veto, and the matter would then be for the President of the United States to decide.

Even while he was in Washington, President Quezon cabled Speaker Osmeña to run for the Senate. Up to this time Quezon had no desire to supplant Osmeña in his rôle as national leader. Quezon believed that in the long run, the Senate would be the more influential body because of its power to confirm appointments. But Osmeña believed that the House was nearer to the people, as the representatives were elected every three years, and so for sentimental reasons he decided to remain speaker of the lower house. By temperament, Quezon was fitted for the lower house and Osmeña for the more august branch of the legislature. Continuing as the absolute head of the majority party, Osmeña probably felt that it did not matter much if he remained in the lower house—he still would have control of affairs. But that decision was a tactical mistake, as events proved within the next five years.

The senators, who believed themselves superior to the more numerous representatives of the lower house, began to get jealous of having to submit to the discipline of Speaker Osmeña. According to party discipline, all matters had to be referred to the speaker for approval; the senators felt slighted. Dissatisfaction began to grow, slowly but surely, against the political dictatorship of Speaker Osmeña.

* * *

An interlude—a romantic one—occurred at this period of President Quezon's life. He had seen his cousin Aurora, who was nearly 11 years his junior, grow up in Baler and had always treated her with great affection. In fact, it was he who had paid for her expenses at the Philippine Normal School in Manila. He began writing letters to her when he first left the archipelago for

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that junket to St. Petersburg, Russia, and kept in touch with her through the succeeding years by letter whenever circumstances forced him to be away from her side. Mrs. Quezon religiously keeps these letters, and perhaps some day in the future they will be published and we will learn of Manuel Quezon as companion, lover, husband and father.

Señorita Aurora often came to Manila at the invitation of her elder cousin, accompanied either by Mrs. San Agustin or Mrs. Rodriguez as chaperone. Fond of practical jokes, Assemblyman Quezon once caused his beautiful cousin to shed bitter tears. Returning one evening from a formal dinner, he dropped in at her home. He wanted to play a joke on her and wore a spray of orange blossoms on the lapel of his tuxedo. She was at that time entertaining two suitors, but upon his entrance she immediately noticed the orange blossoms.

"Why are you wearing those flowers—what's the big occasion?" she asked.

Don Manuel was nonchalant as he airily replied: "Oh, I've just been married!"

She suddenly burst into tears in front of everybody. Many years later, when she remembered the incident, she revealed: "I could not explain why I cried so bitterly in front of my visitors—but I could not help it. It was not because he was going to get married that hurt me most; no, I was hurt because he did not tell us he was going to marry."

Realizing that his joke had gone too far, Don Manuel confessed that the incident was merely a prank on his part.

Doña Aurora left Manila that December of 1918 without knowing that she was going to be married in Hongkong. Some months prior to their departure, Don Manuel had whispered to a few intimate friends that he was going to get married before long. He did not tell the girl's name, however, and merely said: "Oh, one

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of the fair daughters of Tayabas." This bit of information eventually reached the ears of Señorita Aragon, who was naturally distressed by the news, but at the same time felt happy that her cousin decided to settle down. She tried to imagine who the girl could be, but failed to do so as Don Manuel was a gallant and rather fickle young man.

She was in poor health at that time. When she was asked by her cousin to join the mission in order to recover her lost health, she readily accepted. She sailed with the party, accompanied by her maid. Senate-President Quezon was then on his way to the United States as head of an independence mission, the first of the string of missions sent to wage the unrelenting campaign for independence.

On that first night outward bound for Hongkong, Don Manuel proposed to her. The night was chilly, the decks were deserted, and so the two lovers were alone underneath the open sky. He proposed to her, but she did not answer; her heart of a maiden was overflowing with love and joy which expressed itself in tears that silently coursed down her face. Don Manuel took her silence for consent, and nothing more was said about the matter.

Upon their arrival in Hongkong, Don Manuel said nothing to Doña Aurora about the wedding plans, as he wanted to surprise her. In the meantime he had told the rest of the party about his coming marriage to Doña Aurora. He casually told her that they were going to visit the American legation, but would go shopping before the visit.

The party headed downtown, but Doña Aurora's rickshaw man started for the opposite direction. When she realized the mistake made by her coolie, she shouted "Stop—stop!". The coolie thought that she meant "shop—shop" and so started running faster. Don Manuel, with the rest of the party, had to turn around to catch up with her.

The civil marriage took place at the American legation where the matter had been arranged beforehand, on the fourteenth. Three

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days later, the wedding was solemnized by the Bishop of Hongkong in the Catholic cathedral.

The bridegroom was dressed in an ordinary business suit, while the bride had a traveling dress; she had no flowers or other frills so dear to feminine hearts—the ceremony was as simple as if Don Manuel had been the humblest citizen of his land. Their wedding was a decided surprise to Philippine residents. When President Quezon cabled Governor Harrison, "Got married today," the chief executive cabled back: "What's her name?"

* * *

Once his work with the mission was through, President Quezon made plans to abandon politics. He signed an agreement with two other well-known lawyers—former Judge Clyde DeWitt and former Attorney General Quintin Paredes—to form a partnership. He was so determined to resume his private law practice, that he even posted a bond of ₱5,000 in case he changed his mind. He felt that, as a married man, it was high time for him to make some money—twenty times more than what he could make as president of the senate. He had always been a spendthrift, and it did not matter much, as he was a bachelor and fond of good time. But now he was a family man. Pressure was again brought on him not to give up politics, and Quezon asked to be released from his bond with Messrs. DeWitt and Paredes, a permission which they readily gave.

President Quezon now occupied such an important position in Philippine politics that circumstances forced him to remain active, whether he wanted to or not. Again and again, years later, he tried to quit the strenuous political life; but even poor health was not accepted by his followers as a reason for his retirement. He was destined to serve his people and his country.

By 1920, the friction between Quezon and Osmeña grew to more tangible proportions. Towards the end of the administration of Harrison, Quezon began to consolidate his followers. Harrison

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naturally was in his favor, and even publicly attributed his appointment to the senate president. The first open clash took place over the reorganization of the judiciary, but these differences were ironed out after a compromise. The Wood-Forbes report, which condemned the administration of the Islands during the past half dozen years, furnished Quezon with material for dissension within the ranks of the Nationalist party. He began to blame the bad state of affairs on Osmeña, titular head of the party.

In the meantime, General Leonard Wood had been sent out to Manila as governor general, following the disastrous defeat of the Democrats in the 1920 elections. Both Quezon and Osmeña showed a desire to co-operate with the new chief executive, probably with different motives: Osmeña thought it was good for Wood to leave after a year with warm feelings in his heart towards the Filipinos; Quezon was preparing to challenge Osmeña's leadership and felt possibly that one war at a time was all he could conveniently carry. Wood had decided to come to the Islands for about a year before assuming the presidency of an American university, but fate destined that he was to remain in the Philippines for the next six years.

At the party convention in 1921, Osmeña seemed willing to have a platform couched in general terms. Quezon, however, wanted a more specific one; he wanted a more vigorous and exact demand for independence from the United States. President Quezon even intimated that he would not care if the Nationalist party was divided, if the division would come not on personalities but on issues. Quezon apparently did not want to force the separation on this occasion, probably believing that the time was not yet ripe. Not being sure of victory, he allowed the convention to end in an apparent victory for Osmeña. The drafting of the party platform was left for the next convention. Speaker Osmeña remained president, and President Quezon the first vice-president, of the party. Osmeña, in keeping with his personality, played a waiting game. It was up to Quezon to take the offensive.

The awaited break was not long in coming. With all the fiery vocabulary at his command, President Quezon began his

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attacks against the leadership of Speaker Osmeña. He charged the latter with maneuvering reactionary legislation; with having been responsible for the deplorable state of affairs during Harrison's régime. He accused Osmeña of "unipersonalism"—of deciding everything by himself without consulting the members of his party. This, said President Quezon, was dictatorship of the rankest sort; in a democracy, the party leader should always consult the wishes of his followers and should abide by the will of the majority. The Collectivist party was thus formed by a split in the ranks of the old Nationalist group.

General Wood had kept strict neutrality during the struggle for supremacy between the two leaders. He wrote in his diary of January 10, 1922: "The row between Osmeña and Quezon is going on merrily. It is purely a struggle on the part of Osmeña for a one-man representation in both Houses. Osmeña seems to be having the better of him. Many of the senators are deserting Quezon."

Elections were only six months away; that is, on the following June. Ever resourceful, Quezon launched a major offensive. It was at this time that he coined the famous phrase: "My loyalty to my party ends where loyalty to my country begins."

Both leaders were naturally pleasant to newspapermen—specially at this critical period. Reporters always saw first Speaker Osmeña in his room at the old legislative building, the Ayuntamiento in the Walled City. Suave Osmeña always offered reporters light wines and biscuits for refreshment. Then the reporters would troop to the office of the senate president. When Quezon learned the kind of refreshment offered to newshawks by his rival, he snorted: "That's refreshment for sissies—it's indicative of the type of people who support him and the ideals he holds." With a typical magnanimous gesture of his hand, he added: "Gentlemen—I'll give you something with a kick! For the gentlemen of the press—beer and sandwiches, or if you prefer, whisky and soda. Tell me which do you like best!"

Being regular fellows, the gentlemen of the press naturally could not help liking Señor Quezon a wee bit more.

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Recognizing the danger to Philippine interests of an open break between the Filipinos, Osmeña offered Quezon the leadership of the Nationalist party, or anything else that the latter wanted. But *el presidente*, once he had set out on his course of action, was obdurate. The issue was placed squarely before the electorate on the June elections of 1922.

Like a first-class tactician, Quezon brought the fight into Osmeña's own bailiwick. A strong opponent was placed against the speaker in Cebu. Not willing to run the risk of a defeat, Osmeña made a clever countermove. He became a candidate for the senate. That was a lucky change, for he lost in the big towns and only his popularity among the barrio folks saved him. He was strong enough all over the province of Cebu, but weak in the sections he had formerly represented.

President Quezon found, after elections, that he had a slight but sure majority in the senate. In the lower house, however, the strength between the old Nationalist party and the new Collectivist party was about even. The balance of power remained in the hands of the Democrata party, which had hitherto been a negligible factor in insular politics. The Democrata party was the old Progressive party which had changed its name after the disastrous elections of 1916 when the Nationalists were overwhelmingly victorious. The Progressives had won only one seat in the Senate, and seven in the House. Quezon's candidate for speaker was a brilliant young man, Manuel Roxas; Osmeña who had run for the Senate, wanted Miguel Cuenco for the post; while the Democratas presented Claro Recto. For three long weeks, the House failed to agree upon a speaker. President Quezon was apparently checkmated.

Choosing the lesser of two evils, to prevent a coalition between the Nationalists and the Democratas, he decided to smoke the pipe of peace with his former rival. They patched a truce, reunited their followers into the *Nacionalista-Consolidado* party, and chose Quezon's man, Manuel Roxas, speaker of the House.

Senator Osmeña, however, was playing a patient game of watchful waiting. On the surface, things were going on smoothly.

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He knew that his former lieutenant had a narrow margin, and was likely to make a false move at any time. President Quezon also realized that he was skating on thin ice; having started and won the struggle for supremacy, he was under the terrific burden of continuing unbroken that leadership—he needed to consolidate the gains he had made—to entrench himself in power. To beat Osmeña at his own game would be suicidal. By temperament and strategy, he was of the opposite type. He was at his best in an open fight. By sheer force of his personality, lightning decisions, and intuitive knowledge of saying the right things at the right time, he had no equal in the Philippines when in the midst of a titanic struggle. But after that clash in the open, Osmeña was content to remain under cover, and Quezon could not very well smoke him out of his hole for a second encounter.

No one, no enemy, remained on the field. No one except Leonard Wood, the bystander, who had kept strict neutrality during the duel. Upon him charged Manuel Quezon, the fighter. And being a warrior by profession, General Wood was not the sort of person to retreat. Thus began the epic struggle between President Quezon and Governor Wood.

* * *

Was President Quezon justified in seeking an issue with Governor General Wood?

This question has so often been asked that it becomes imperative to study the events leading to that political duel, in order to arrive at an impartial estimate of President Quezon as a political leader. A brief sketch of conditions up to the arrival of Wood follows:

During the preceding administration, Harrison had surrendered many of his prerogatives as chief executive to the Filipinos. Like his chief at the White House, he believed that the best way for Filipinos to attain self-government was to practise it. He allowed his department secretaries, all Filipinos, wide discretion in all

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domestic affairs. He created the Council of State, composed of the governor, the senate president, the speaker, and the cabinet members; and the Board of Control, composed of the governor and the presidents of the two legislative chambers. Furthermore, he allowed the legislature to indulge in business ventures and experiments—a mild form of government socialism. These government entities, from the National Bank down to the National Development company, were under the thumb of the Board of Control. He thoroughly Filipinized the insular government, and got rid of several hundred American employees during his term. All these were encroachments upon American sovereignty, and the Filipinos hugged tight the rights they had wrested from the chief executive.

General Wood came with the express purpose of dragging the insular government out of business, in true Republican fashion. The National Bank and government finances had gone to the dogs. With military precision, Governor Wood began to rehabilitate government finances. He began to take back the prerogatives surrendered by his predecessor. Personally a kindly man, easy to approach, he had the poor judgment to surround himself with military advisers who proved too brusque to the sensitive pride of the Filipinos. President Quezon once had an appointment with Governor Wood at 9 o'clock in the morning. When the time came, another person who had arrived later than he did was shown in.

Naturally, *el presidente* felt slighted. He silently got up and left, but his nose began to twitch like a rabbit—a nervous habit he has when excited or angry. And whenever *el presidente's* nose twitches, there's hell to pay. A messenger overtook him at the gates to Malacañan Palace with the request that General Wood wanted to see him.

"You can tell General Wood to go to hell!" exploded *el presidente* as he left.

When the Conley incident occurred in July, 1923, Governor Wood acted over the heads of his subordinates, the Mayor of the city of Manila and the secretary of the department of interior.

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The mayor had found an American detective guilty of certain irregularities, and the secretary of interior had upheld the mayor, but Governor Wood, wanting to exercise his prerogatives of supervision and control as contained in the Jones law, reinstated the detective. Though he was within his rights to do so, yet he violated the practise observed during Harrison's régime. As a result, all the department secretaries resigned.

General Wood's evaluation of the situation, following a conference with the leaders and cabinet members, was entered in his diary of July 17 as follows: "Mr. Osmeña kept entirely out of the discussion. I think that he has been pushing Quezon on more or less quietly, seeing that the little man was going to eventually blow up and burst in his efforts at aggrandizement and his reaching for power; all of which would be very agreeable to Osmeña. I have done everything possible to keep Quezon from making a fool of himself but it has been difficult and, in the end, as shown today, impossible." We must remember that these acrid lines were entered in the heat of rancor against the senate president, but there was undoubtedly a grain of truth in his sizing up of the situation.

As the weeks passed, President Quezon began to lose ground. Conditions were gradually improving under the strict supervision of Governor Wood. Business was picking up. Quezon was running out of ammunition. Then he hit upon a brilliant plan.

Juan Sumulong, leading member of the Democrata party which had supported General Wood in the recent controversy, was a candidate for senator in the special election of October, 1923. President Quezon shrewdly picked as opponent Ramon Fernandez, the mayor who had resigned his post because of the disagreement with Wood. Mr. Fernandez could not even make a speech in Tagalog, the language of his electors, but *el presidente* fought the election on the issue that Sumulong was Wood's man, while Fernandez was a victim of the governor's vindictiveness and hence was a martyr to the Filipino cause. Fernandez didn't have a ghost of a chance, but upon that issue he was elected by a close margin.

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Once more, President Quezon had turned the trick—one of the neatest in his long list of political triumphs.

President Quezon's motive in his fight with Wood was clearly revealed in an address he gave before the student body of the University of the Philippines, the state institution of higher learning. He said in part: ". . . All students of English constitutional history know that the English people's liberties were finally built up after centuries of constant and unremitting struggle against the royal powers and prerogatives, a long drawn-out conflict in which the champions of the people seized every advantage to further increase the extent and sphere of popular rights. . . . I would not be betraying any secret here if I say that our object is to reduce the governor general of the Philippine Islands to a mere figurehead, because we want a government of Filipinos, by the Filipinos, and for the Filipinos. So it is unpatriotic for any Filipino to stand by Governor Wood in his policies. The Filipinos have worthily enjoyed autonomy under Governor Harrison. No people worthy of freedom would allow it to be taken away from them. As for me, I shall fight for it as long as there is energy of life in my body! If we stand together, sooner or later, action favorable to Philippine autonomy will come. Why? Because someone must yield in this conflict, someone must be taken out of the way. The Legislature will not yield. It is inconceivable that Congress will abolish the Legislature."

In the words of a University of Michigan political scientist, who later became the last of the American vice-governors: ". . . the real grievance of the men who dominated that body (the Legislature) was not that General Wood used the powers of his office arbitrarily, or harshly, or even unwisely, but that he exercised them at all."

President Quezon struggled with General Wood, then, to retain those executive rights which the Filipinos had wrested from Harrison—an essential part of their unceasing struggle for greater autonomy. In that respect he was justified in the clash he had with General Wood. But how far this reason coincided with

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his personal motives of maintaining his supremacy in the political field, we have no way of gauging.

The next question that comes up is this: why didn't Senator Osmeña join forces with General Wood, and in that way defeat his rival, President Quezon? The only answer can be found in the desire of the Cebu senator to preserve a united Filipino front in their demands for independence. He could very well have taken the side of General Wood, as did other Filipinos of unquestioned patriotism. General Emilio Aguinaldo, hero of the revolution, had sided with the warrior at Malacañan. Not much blame could be attached to Senator Osmeña if he had allowed personal ambition to creep into his decision by backing up the chief executive.

Even General Wood remarked on this topic in a letter to one of his aides, dated April 16, 1927: "Quezon is making an ass of himself in talking about preferring hell full of Filipinos to a heaven full of Americans and other silly and childish remarks. I think he is losing his grasp on the situation. Osmeña, if he had only the fighting edge, could have joined forces with Aguinaldo and beaten Quezon in the struggle for control."

President Quezon's bitter fight with Governor Wood had its repercussion in Washington. Congress was in a mind to give the Filipinos what they shouted for, and on April, 1924, passed the Fairfield bill. In many respects, this bill was similar to the present Tydings-McDuffie law but placed the transition or Commonwealth period to 30 years. Congressional leaders would not push the bill, unless they had the support of the Filipino leaders, and asked for an open endorsement of the bill. Senate-President Quezon, Senator Osmeña, Speaker Roxas, Commissioners Pedro Guevara and Isauro Gabaldon, and other Filipino leaders who were in Washington at the time, favored the measure; they decided, however, to refer the matter for approval to the legislators back in Manila. Speaker Roxas was sent back to get the approval of the solons. Opinion in the insular legislature and elsewhere, however, was strongly nationalistic and the Fairfield bill seemed too tame. The belief was rampant back in the archipelago that a bill could be

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had from Congress by just whistling for it, at terms asked for—the transition period of 30 years was considered too long. Hence Speaker Roxas delivered a public speech at the Botanical Gardens stating that the mission had not committed itself on the subject. Lacking the endorsement of the Filipinos, Congressional leaders abandoned the Fairfield bill.

Had the *politicos* fanned Filipino nationalism to white heat for “complete, immediate, and absolute independence,” such that—like Frankenstein’s monster—the situation had gone beyond their control? An attempt to answer this question today would be immature, and only events within the next two decades will give the answer to this question.

But it was true that the Filipino political leaders exaggerated their demands for complete, absolute, and immediate independence. The *politicos* found that nationalism was the most potent appeal it could make to the electorate. In public, specially in campaign speeches, they uttered radical demands; but in private, they were more conservative, though they never abandoned their ideal of self-government. General Wood entered in his diary: “Roxas said that they had been compelled to make radical statements to maintain their hold on the people, and Quezon said the same thing.” The attitude of the Filipinos on this matter can best be summarized by the one word “bluff”—to gain what they really wanted, they were forced to increase the size of their demands. The battlecry of “immediate, complete and absolute” independence had to be adopted to refresh the spirit of Filipino nationalism, to make an impression on the American public, and thus spur Congress to accede to the demands of Filipinos for greater autonomy. The Wood-Forbes mission had discovered that a great many Filipinos preferred independence under the protection of the United States. Thus, after the report was published that “independence under the protection of another nation is not true independence” the legislators grew much louder in their demands for complete, immediate, and absolute independence.

Early in 1926, Quezon organized the National Supreme Council. This body was composed of the Nacionalista-Consolidado and the

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Democrata parties, for the object of directing Filipino policy "in all that concerns the campaign for independence, all matters which may affect the relations between the United States and the Philippines, and the administration of the interests of the country in general." At that time, the so-called Bacon bill, separating Mindanao and Sulu from the rest of the archipelago, was introduced in Congress. Faced by a common foe, the various leaders united under the banner of President Quezon. By a masterful stroke, aided by the opportune danger which loomed from the Potomac, President Quezon was able to carry his fight against Wood and at the same time maintain his precarious supremacy in local politics.

Victory did not always go to President Quezon. In the first place, the Republicans were now in power and both Harding and Coolidge backed Wood to the hilt. Half a million pesos had been appropriated in 1918 to send a mission headed by President Quezon to the United States. The following year, membership of the mission increased to 28 Filipinos holding key positions in the insular government. In 1920, the legislature made a standing appropriation of one million pesos for the independence mission. Though such missions were undoubtedly necessary to carry out the campaign for independence, specially since the Republicans came into power, the sum appropriated was far too much; such missions became mere pleasure trips for high government officials who brought along with them their families at the expense of the taxpayers.

At the instigation of Wood, the insular auditor in 1924 disapproved such appropriations as illegal. President Quezon, not to be outdone, came back with the reply that the expenses of the Wood-Forbes mission had been paid by the Legislature; if the Filipino mission members were guilty of extravagance, the same charge could be applied to the Wood-Forbes mission. Realizing that his generosity had been taken advantage of by his followers, President Quezon did not hesitate to state that Wood and Forbes had taken a similar advantage.

President Quezon's biggest setback at the hands of Governor Wood took place in 1926, when the U. S. attorney general ruled that

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the creation of the Board of Control was an illegal act, and hence could be dissolved by an executive order. Governor Wood decided to dissolve the board because of a disagreement he had with President Quezon and Speaker Roxas late in 1926. Wood had a verbal agreement with the two Filipino leaders to sell the Cebu Portland Cement company to a private firm. The Filipino newspapers, however, attacked the transaction. When Wood had everything prepared for the sale, both Quezon and Roxas backed out. Wood was furious. Quezon and Roxas apologetically explained that they had to break their word because popular sentiment went against their private belief.

Wood received the ruling of the attorney general on October, 1926. A month later, he dissolved the Board of Control. The case was brought to the Philippine Supreme Court, which approved the dissolution by a vote of 6 to 3, one of the Filipino justices siding with the Americans. The case was appealed to the Supreme Court of the United States, which also upheld the decision, though three justices including the late Justice Holmes dissented with the majority.

Had General Wood consented to play politics, or had he been a cleverer opponent, he could have forced President Quezon into an ignominious defeat.

In the early phase of their duel, when the legislators were still watching how the wind blew, Governor Wood could have licked *el presidente* pretty badly. Many of the legislators were grumbling against the leadership of President Quezon, as Governor Wood had vetoed appropriation bills right and left. Had General Wood played politics, he could have gotten a good number of legislators to bolt the Quezon camp, for he controlled the purse strings of government. Perhaps he was too obtuse and unaccustomed to politics—notice the way he was tricked in the 1920 Republican convention for the presidency—or perhaps he disdained to stoop to such underhanded, but legitimate, methods. It was fortunate for President Quezon that Governor Wood was a man trained in the battlefield, and not in the political arena.

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Both opponents, nevertheless, held a high opinion of each other. Though General Wood never failed to say nasty things about Quezon in his diary, he admired *el presidente*; Wood preferred Quezon to Osmeña, whom he couldn't fathom. President Quezon also respected his adversary. A few years later, when he was in Kansas city, President Quezon lived in the house once occupied by General Wood.

"Let us see what kind of books the old man liked," remarked Señor Quezon with a meaning smile to Vicente Bunuan, director of the Washington publicity bureau. "Maybe that will explain why we differed so much." He thoroughly examined and read the books once perused by the general. As *el presidente* expected, the books dealt mostly with military discipline.

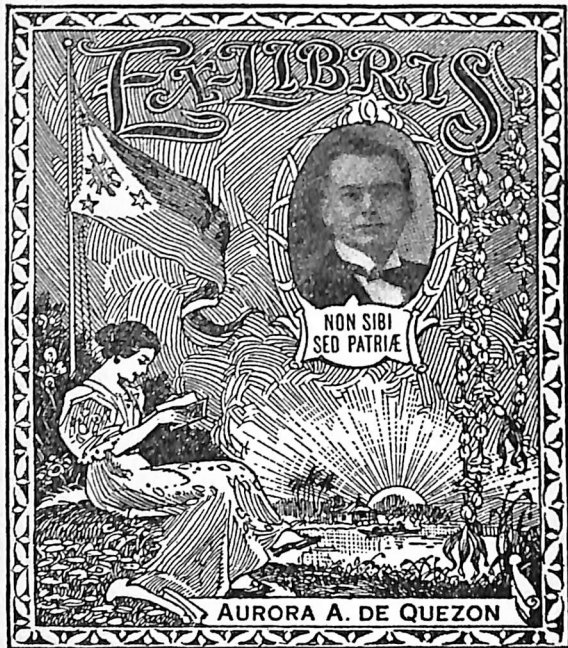
Against General Wood, President could not make much headway. That Rough Rider refused to budge. The Filipino leaders, headed by Quezon, had announced a policy of non-coöperation. But the government continued to function as usual with the under-secretaries on duty. The legislative and the executive branches of the government had reached an impasse: neither would give in an inch of ground. The racial angle was being injected into the political issue—potential dynamite. Philippine affairs were drifting to the Lord knows where. Then, on August 7, 1927, Governor General Wood died in a Boston hospital following an operation.

President Quezon and his followers breathed a sigh of relief. The tension was over.



President Quezon is a lover of good books, and during his recent illness read assiduously on various subjects. At the left is a facsimile of his book-plate.

Dña. Aurora Aragon de Quezon is one of the most cultured of Filipino women through constant reading. At the right is a reproduction of her ex-libris; notice the picture of her husband with the words "Not for self but for country." What greater sacrifice could a country exact of a mother and a wife?



CHAPTER V

The Last Duel With Osmeña

WITH General Wood providently out of the way, Filipino political leaders were disposed to cooperate with the successor, Governor Henry L. Stimson. Stimson, on his part, met the Filipinos halfway and followed a middle course between that of his two predecessors.

Though Stimson and Quezon were good friends, they some times had violent disagreements. On one occasion, while former Secretary of Agriculture Rafael Alunan was in a conference with Governor Stimson, President Quezon made a call. He had come to defend before the chief executive Speaker Roxas, his protégé, who was not very well liked by Stimson. Secretary Alunan wanted to leave, but President Quezon asked him to stay.

Both Stimson and Quezon were frank in their utterances, and raised their voices, as both of them were men of strong convictions. Hot words were exchanged, and Mr. Alunan feared that the two might come to blows. At the end of every point he made, Stimson turned to Alunan with the words: "Don't you agree with me, Mr. Secretary?"

Quezon, at the termination of each argument, likewise turned to Alunan with the query: "Now, isn't that right?"

That was Mr. Alunan's most embarrassing moment, and at the time wished that he was in any other place except Malacañan.

Agitation had been increasing in Congress to curtail the amount of duty-free products such as sugar, coconut oil, cigars and hemp. President Quezon left Manila late in 1927 to direct the campaign in the United States. The situation was so serious that Senator

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Osmeña accompanied him. Though Filipino leaders had secured a statement that no backward step would be taken by President Harding as far as Philippine autonomy was concerned, the Republicans were notoriously against independence. President Quezon was particularly active in conferences with various public men, and in delivering speeches. He fell ill, and consulted New York specialists who advised him to take a rest cure for one year or more if he expected to get well.

He spent the Christmas of 1927 as a patient in the Pottinger sanatorium in Monrovia, California. That was his loneliest Christmas, away from his wife and three children. He did not remain idle, however, during those days of enforced solitude. He read assiduously books on history, politics, economics, contemporary world events, biographies and philosophy. For relaxation, he indulged in detective stories. The reading habit he acquired during this illness came in handy later on.

On his first visit with President Hoover, in the summer of 1930, the White House executive started to talk on the economic situation in Europe. Mr. Hoover probably wanted to find out how well-informed Señor Quezon was. "I cited to him a few facts and figures," related *el presidente*, "and I think I convinced him that I knew a little about these matters."

Early in 1928, Quezon cabled Osmeña that he wanted to resign from politics because of ill health, but his former chief would not hear of it. Osmeña preferred to play the second fiddle. In Quezon he recognized a personality which could not be dispensed with in the Filipinos' struggle for greater autonomy. Quezon won the election without any fuss, and again was elected president of the Senate. He returned to the Philippines in the middle of 1928 a very sick man.

About a year later, he had to leave for Monrovia for a second treatment and rest cure. He was suffering from tuberculosis, and his health was greatly impaired. In the meantime, President Hoover had appointed Nicholas Roosevelt vice-governor of the

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Philippines. Mr. Roosevelt had visited the Islands and written a book called "The Philippines—a Treasure and a Problem," wherein he baldly stated that the Filipinos were not yet capable of self-government. He also called President Quezon and other leaders a few unflattering names. Vigorous protests from Manila evaporated into thin air when it reached the White House. Upon his arrival in Seattle, President Quezon wrote the following letter to the secretary of war:

Let me at the outset disclaim any intention on our part to challenge the power of the President to appoint whomever he chooses. We are only exercising the right to petition, the use of which in this instance and in my case, considering the position I hold, becomes a duty, imposed alike by my loyalty to the Government of the United States and to the people of the Philippine Islands. I hope, therefore, that these representations will be accepted in the spirit in which they are made.

I would request you, Mr. Secretary, to realize how humiliating it will be for the Filipino people to have at the head of their Department of Public Instruction and, from time to time, as acting head of their Government, one who has branded them as dishonest and deceitful, and how extremely embarrassing it will be for the Filipinos in public life to deal officially and socially with one who has written of them with contempt.

In recent years I have cooperated, first with Governor Stimson, and then with Governor Davis, to bring about a better understanding and more cordial relations between the people of the Philippines and the representative of the Government of the United States in the Islands, with the result that not only have these relations been very much improved but also the racial feeling—which has always been the thorn in the Philippine problem—between Americans and Filipinos. You can, therefore, very well understand my very serious concern over this appointment, which will surely revive racial antagonisms.

Allow me, Mr. Secretary, to place these considerations before you, as chief of the department in charge of Philippine affairs, with the request that you lay them before the President.

As a result, President Hoover withdrew his ad interim appointment, and Mr. Roosevelt was sent as Minister to Hungary. Speaking of that letter weeks later, he laughingly remarked: "I was rather hard put in writing that letter because I had no one to help me. I did not know whether I was using the correct words or the

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correct construction, but I kept on until I finished and then mailed it. Yet, I think it turned out to be not such a bad letter after all."

Like any other man in public life, President Quezon tries to remember the names and faces of people he meets. But he is by no means a memory wizard. Once, while in Washington, D.C., an American wanted to see him in his room at the Willard Hotel. After greeting him effusively, *el presidente* asked to be excused as he had not yet shaved. The visitor had mentioned that he was a former colonel in the Philippine Constabulary.

While he was at his toilet, Señor Quezon tried hard to remember the American's face or name—but failed. Nevertheless, he came out and amiably chatted with the visitor for half an hour, reminiscing on the days of empire in the archipelago at the turn of the century. The visitor got up and left.

"I'll be d—— if I can remember his name," the Filipino leader later said to his secretary. Throughout the entire visit, he had no idea of the identity of his guest, but carried along the conversation as if the visitor was an old acquaintance.

In the middle of 1931, he went on another trip to the United States. Sugar, farm, dairy and labor interests were insistent in their demands to cut the Philippines adrift, or at least to treat the Islands as a foreign nation so far as trade was concerned. President Quezon made a frank analysis of conditions and presented three proposals before political leaders in Washington with relation to the future of the Philippines. These three proposals were:

1. Immediate establishment of an independent government with free trade between America and the Philippines for a period of 10 years, limiting the amount of sugar entering the United States free of duty to one million tons and oil to the amount exported at present, and the restriction of Filipino labor immigration into the United States.
2. If unacceptable, immediate establishment of an autonomous government with all consequent powers, including that of enacting measures considered necessary to meet the responsibilities of an independent government when independence is granted, with restrictions necessary to safeguard the interests of American sovereignty in the Philippines. Within such a period of 10 years,

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trade relations between the United States and the Philippines and the labor immigration into the United States, will be the same as proposed in the preceding paragraph. At the end of 10 years, the Filipino people will decide by means of a plebiscite if it desires to continue with such a government or prefers to have one that is absolutely independent. In the latter case, American sovereignty will be immediately withdrawn from the Islands.

3. In the event that this is not acceptable, the Filipino people will welcome any bill granting Philippine independence in any form.

President Quezon presented these proposals to the Filipino people in November of 1931. The Democrata party at once branded him as reactionary, and a traitor to his pristine ideals of absolute, complete, and immediate independence. There can be no doubt that President Quezon, with full responsibility resting on his shoulders, became realistic in his treatment of the Philippine problem—and hence more conservative. The first two proposals sound like the Fairfield bill of a decade ago, while the third alternative is a brave gesture to show that the Filipinos had not abandoned their desire for self-government at any cost.

“The affairs of government,” President Quezon confessed, “are eminently practical—not theoretical. Those who have the responsibility to guide the destinies of a nation have the solemn duty to harmonize the lofty ideals of their people with realities....”

Quezon the politician was now Quezon the statesman. That single statement, given at a time when he was very sick and seriously tried to retire from politics, reflects his true attitude on the whole matter more truly than the dozen fiery speeches he has made on the same question.

In the beginning of 1932, he went to Baguio, summer capital of the archipelago, for a prolonged cure. He was very much depressed by his failure to get better after his treatment in Monrovia.

“I’d be glad to live for two or three more years, until Philippine conditions are more stable,” he confided to his physician. Dr. Andreas Trepp, tuberculosis specialist in charge of the Santol Sanatorium in Manila, examined him thoroughly. He realized that *el presidente’s* cure lay in psychological more than in medical

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treatment. The first thing to do, then, was to cheer him up. Gradually, President Quezon was made to take exercises. By June of that year, he had a better appetite and was much more cheerful.

One day he went on an automobile ride, accompanied by Dr. Trepp and Jacob Rosenthal, a bosom friend. The doctor saluted a beautiful woman who was walking on the street. President Quezon, inveterate admirer of all things beautiful, turned his head around to watch her as the car passed by.

"Ah—Don Manuel is saved!" exclaimed Jake. "Everything is fine. *El presidente's* interest in women has revived."

It was during this illness that President Quezon returned to the Catholic faith. He had joined masonry when he was still an assemblyman from Tayabas, and had gradually risen to the thirty-second degree. Beginning 1928, however, he underwent a spiritual renaissance.

A tiny book of 36 pages, written by Annie Fellows Johnston, a religious mystic, undoubtedly played an important part in his change of outlook on religion. Quezon read this book on March of 1928 while in the sanatorium, according to Dr. Antonio Sison, personal physician and friend of the president.

"It was this book that turned the tide of President Quezon's morale when his health was at its lowest ebb in Monrovia. The simple moving story, couched in the form of a legend, to teach the virtue of patience and hope, sustained President Quezon—gave him new strength to face the fight and roused his will to a determination to conquer the disease," said Dr. Sison. The booklet contained this moral:

"To gather from every one thou passest on the highway, and from every experience fate sends thee, as Omar gathered from the heart of every rose, and out of the wide knowledge thus gained of human weaknesses and human needs, to distill in thine heart the precious oil of sympathy. That is the attar that shall win for thee a welcome wherever thou goest. And no man fills his crystal vase with it until he has first been pricked by the world's disappointments, and bowed by its tasks."

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"While I was sick in Monrovia," he later confided to Father Tamayo, his former teacher and benefactor, "I felt that I was going to die—just like an animal, without any spiritual consolation or hope. Now that you're here, my heart feels lighter."

During his illness in Baguio, Archbishop Michael O'Doherty came to see him several times. They had long talks on theology, the philosophy of the Catholic faith, and other kindred subjects. His wife and children, all devout Catholics, naturally had a great deal of influence on his outlook. As a result, President Quezon abjured masonry and became a devout Catholic. He has had a private chapel constructed in his home in Pasay, where he hears mass on occasion.

With death staring him in the face, and thoroughly believing that he would live for only a couple of years at the most, he underwent a spiritual conversion so common to mortals. His return to the Catholic faith, the religion of his boyhood, was unquestionably sincere. But his motives were impugned by his severest critics who pointed out that the conversion was an opportune move: no matter how sincere President Quezon was in his sudden change of heart, they claimed, the conversion had redounded to his benefit, for henceforth he would have the support of the church. And to this day, the church plays a powerful—though silent—part in Philippine affairs.

Those years of poor health were a blessing in disguise, for they gave him a chance to catch up with his reading on many and diverse subjects—a re-education, so to speak, of a great leader. Today, President Quezon is one of the most widely-read individuals in the Philippines, and is equally at home on a discussion of Freud, Lord Bryce, Napoleon, Malthus, or S. S. Van Dine. Reading and traveling so much has, of course, deeply influenced his views; they have made of him a liberal and a progressive. On his fifty-fourth birthday—in 1932—he gave a scholarly summary of shifting values and political evolution, as follows:

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"I am a born optimist. But, there are things in the world today that tinge my optimism with concern. The world is changing; thought is changing; institutions believed to be eternal are tottering. Some have fallen. And we are in the midst of all the change. We cannot escape its effects.

"Our concern is government, because government is the concern of the people. As I see it, the world has gone through four stages in this human institution we call government.

"At first there was the tribal system. It was a simple affair. Yet it was an outgrowth of a still simpler one, the family rule, which is the basis of society. Essentially it was democratic, since it was created by the will of the ingredients of the tribe, families, equal to one another, and maintained by their will.

"Then came the growing complexities which followed upon the increase in population. For a time we still had the democratic principle in the great Athenian, and later the Roman, democracies. Then, as peoples grew and civilization became more complex, strong men seized the power, and we had the birth, rise, and eventually the downfall, of the Roman and Oriental empires. This was the second stage.

"Feudalism, which erected its castles on the ruins of the empires, followed; and was in turn superseded by monarchies, as the power became centralized in leading families, carrying the world through a third stage in government. The monarchies tore down the strongholds of feudalism, and ruled until the people, newly taught and newly inspired, began to assert themselves. And we had the birth of the republican form of government, which was the fourth.

"It may be said that we are at present in this fourth stage. But as I see it we are entering an entirely new phase of government. What this fifth stage will be is for the future to reveal.

"Today the world is in state of upheaval, of change, reacting to two significant movements in government, both characterized by a form of despotism, yet each diametrically opposed to the other. On the one hand we have the one-man despotism in Italy, where a Mussolini by sheer force of character and will is in control of the government. On the other we have a people's despotism, as in Russia, where a section of the people, the masses, are driving the rest of the people in zealous adherence to an idea.

"These rival—if I may say so—systems are naturally throwing the world into upheaval, almost into chaos. Necessarily, the political upheavals bring about economic overturns. In fact, both the Russian revolt of 1917 and Mussolini's march on Rome were in essence economic movements.

"They also bring about changes in thought, new tendencies in ideas and ideals. And this upheaval, these new tendencies, these new currents of thought,

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are felt here in the Philippines. For we Filipinos stand directly in the paths of these cross-currents, which cannot but affect our outlook, our viewpoints, our very lives.

"In this we have certain advantages: that we are a young country. We have not, as had Russia, any old institutions, old traditions of government, to batter down. Our people will not be compelled to pass through a readjustment that will strike at the very roots of their spiritual or physical existence. We can examine these new ideas of government, these new social panaceas that come to us: examine them, and adopt for our own use those which we feel are best suited to our needs.

"There are, however, two institutions which we have, that must be preserved at all costs. They are the family, and the democracy of our people. I should not call them 'institutions.' In effect they are our foundation. To put it another way: they are two safe anchorages to which we must hold as we meet the rush of new thought and new ideas. We should adopt and adapt to our purposes whatever is best of these new ideas. But we should always judge the new by their adaptability to those two fundamentals: the family and democracy.

"On my fifty-fourth birthday, as I look back, and see what we have accomplished; and look ahead, and see what is before us, I envision a great future for our country—if our people would only keep abreast of the times.

"And as I see all this, my message to the people now is; go slow. The world is changing. We are in the midst of the change and we, like other peoples, are facing a severe trial. It is futile to try to get away from the change, and folly to try to escape the trial. Wisdom and caution—these are our weapons and our shield, in one. Let us watch; let us keep our eyes open. Let us judge carefully and without passion these new things that whirl about us. There is good among them, and there is evil. There is salvation and there is deadly danger. Wisdom, coolness and caution will gain for us the good and the salvation. Haste and unreasoning passion will sweep us into danger. We must go slow."

When we take into consideration the fact that he was more or less responsible for the government going into business, an observer would be inclined to think that President Quezon is personally not averse to some form of socialism. Defending the venture of the Philippine government into state socialism, he stated in 1920:

"The government has definitely adopted a plan for the development of our foreign trade as well as for the improvement of our agriculture and our industries. If there is any fault in this respect, it would be because we are trying to do more than... we can properly handle. In other words, the government may be accused of going too fast rather than too slow, but

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our defense—if we need any—lies in our desire to have the Philippines go with the times in her economic development, for we fear that in this age of keen competition and scramble for riches, the country will be left in the rearguard unless we make great strides."

* * *

In the meantime, a political storm was brewing over the Potomac in Washington, D.C.—a storm which reached the intensity of a typhoon by the time it struck Manila, and decided once and for all the supremacy between himself and Senator Osmeña.

President Quezon never did aspire to wrest national leadership from Senator Osmeña prior to the creation of the insular senate, as we have already pointed out. He was content to remain second in command, though it was rather humiliating for him as senate-president. It was not until after the Jones law was passed, that a spirit of rivalry grew between these two titans in Philippine politics. As senate-president, Quezon was in an awkward and rather embarrassing situation. He was only the vice-president of the Nationalist party, while Osmeña was president. In the Council of State, Osmeña, as head of the party, was officially ranked above him. No matter how justified President Quezon was in seeking a change of national leadership for the benefit of the country, there can be no doubt that the personal equation must have played some part in his decision to seek a break with Osmeña.

The duel between these two men was entirely natural and to be expected; it was a ruthless struggle for the survival of the fittest. Both, in their grasp of the principles of politics and practical statesmanship, have no superiors in any country of the world. Both are of unquestioned patriotism. But both could not rule at the same time—it had to be either one or the other.

From 1920 to 1934, latent rivalry existed between these two leaders. After Quezon had seized the leadership, as we have already seen, Osmeña played a game of watchful waiting; he followed orders like a disciplined soldier, but nevertheless he was ready to reassert his supremacy at the right time. On the other hand, Quezon, by means of brilliant moves was able to maintain his leadership unbroken. These two adversaries were like skillful fencers thrusting, feinting, and parrying, with an occasional riposte, for

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ultimate victory. Osmeña was like a rapier, resilient but deadly; Quezon like the sword of the Crusader, crushingly massive and irresistible.

"Osmeña is patient, silent, cautious, wise—Oriental in type. As a man of property and a conservative, he inspires confidence in the more mature. He belongs to the largest racial group in the Philippines—the Bisayans, and has some Chinese blood in his veins. Quezon, on the other hand, is impatient, impulsive, frank, brilliant—Occidental in type. He inspires personal attachment and is idolized by the younger element. He is a Tagalog, and in his veins courses the impetuous blood of a Spanish ancestor."

Chinese cunning was matched against Spanish audacity—and in the end, the latter won out. The decade and a half preceding 1935 were years of bitter and unrelenting struggle between the two Filipino leaders. Except for the open break in 1922 and again in 1934, the battle raged under cover. Though not as spectacular as the fight with Wood, the struggle between these two men was more protracted and, from a spectator's viewpoint, more interesting because of the apparently innocent moves and countermoves made by one or the other. When the detailed facts of this period are revealed, an epic saga could be written about these two men in their drawn-out warfare for political supremacy in the Philippines. Obviously, only an outline of the moves made by the two adversaries can be included in a short biography like this.

After Manuel Roxas had made of himself a *persona non grata* to Coolidge, who upheld Wood, Quezon was in a tight spot. Certain senators even offered Osmeña the presidency of the senate, but he refused. Realizing his delicate position, Quezon then decided to get rid of Osmeña by sending him to Washington as head of the mission, to fight threatened reactionary legislation. The senator from Cebu knew the danger, but he consented and left for Washington. After a survey of American conditions, he reported that the non-coöperation policy started by Quezon was doing the independence cause much harm. Thus he turned the tables on Quezon. Supporters of Quezon, in turn, accused Osmeña of being a traitor to the cause. There was even talk of Osmeña's recall, but his followers were too strong. It was at this time that Quezon came back with a brilliant countermove; in organizing the Supreme National

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Council, he got the support of the Democrats by promising to appoint a member of their party to the next vacant post in the resident commissionership. Osmeña was suspicious of the Coalition, as embodied by the Supreme National Council, but Quezon had outwitted him and he characteristically fell in line. President Quezon's sense of the dramatic and the colorful, saved him in many a tight fix in his long political career; for on the verge of defeat, he always made a daring move which discomfited his opponents, and turned an apparent downfall into victory.

On more than one occasion, Quezon seriously tried to resign from politics, yet each time Osmeña was the first to plead against such a proposal. Why? It seems to us that Osmeña must have fully realized the value of Quezon to the nation; and it is not inconceivable that he was loath to lose such a worthy adversary. Both of them were good fighters, who enjoyed a good scrap; in a similar way that chess players prefer to pit their mental skill against a worthy opponent.

After Quezon had made his three proposals, Osmeña journeyed to the United States accompanied by Roxas. For nearly two years the Osmeña-Roxas mission stayed in Washington in a strenuous effort to get an independence law. They must have known that the enactment of a law granting Filipinos greater autonomy would automatically thrust into their hands the national leadership held by Quezon. In spite of the growing opposition from the Quezon faction in Manila over the provisions of the Hawes-Cutting-Hare law, which was then taking shape, the Osrox (newspaper abbreviation for Osmeña-Roxas) mission decided not to obey orders.

Back in Manila, in the meantime, a reorganization of the government was taking place. The change was undoubtedly needed for purposes of economy and efficiency. The reorganization was claimed by the Quezon faction as a much-needed improvement, while the Osrox supporters claimed that it was merely an opportunity to get rid of some of their party men in government service. Perhaps both factions are right. At any rate, the matter is still in dispute: whether the reorganization was carried out in good faith, or whether it was used as a cloak for a marshaling of political forces.

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It is an interesting, though not conclusive, sidelight that in 1932 there were 21,823 civil service employees; this number dropped the following year to 20,725 after the reorganization was effected; while in 1934, the number of government workers increased to 21,492.

Late in 1932, the Hawes-Cutting-Hare law was passed by both Houses of Congress, but was vetoed by outgoing President Hoover. Congress repassed the law over his veto, and acceptance was up to the insular legislature.

These events are perhaps too recent for a fair appraisal, but in view of subsequent incidents, a general evaluation can be given with impartiality. The Hawes-Cutting-Hare law was frankly a compromise bill—hence it was not entirely favorable to the best interests of the Filipinos. The Osrox group held that it was the best law obtainable under the circumstances, and fulfilled the requirements outlined by President Quezon in the second of his three alternatives.

For some months, President Quezon was undecided whether to accept or reject the proffer of independence as embodied in the H-C-H act. He was extremely critical of the bill—and with good reason—but took no decisive step. He even went to the United States by way of Europe to confer with Senator Osmeña, but remained undecided. Those were decisive weeks wherein the fate of the nation hung in the balance.

On the voyage from Cherbourg to New York, the Filipino leader was with the then premier of France, Edouard Herriot, and 25 other prominent French officials on board. Filipino members of the mission were afraid that their leader would be relegated to second place in point of interest—but not with Quezon as head of that mission. Such a thing as inferiority complex is simply not to be found in the Quezonian makeup. By his brilliant conversation, suave manners, and arresting personality, he shared honors with the French premier. And when the *Ile de France* docked in New York, the waterfront reporters made as much fuss over the Filipino leader as with the premier.

On the return trip aboard the same liner, the Filipinos had the famous Polish pianist, Ignatz Jan Paderewski, as fellow passenger

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besides Herriot. It was on this voyage that Quezon surprised members of his mission and other passengers by having the ship's orchestra play the Filipino anthem. Naturally, a score of the anthem could not be found, but *el presidente* haltingly played the tune on the piano with one finger—sufficiently for the orchestra to render later the entire music with proper accompaniment. He had not forgotten his student days in Letran when he captivated the ladies by his mastery of the piano.

Why didn't Quezon go with the Osrox mission during the framing of the H-C-H bill and in that way help shape a measure which would be acceptable to Filipinos? Later, during the discussion over the H-C-H law in the legislature, Quezon said:

"At the time [1932] I asserted that the reason why I could not go with the mission was that I was ill, but the real reason I am now telling you. If I had gone to America I would have been compelled to work for any one of my three propositions or for all of them which I had submitted to the legislature. My attitude would not have been sanctioned by the legislature. The country appeared to be against me—some went even to the extent of calling me a traitor to my country—and I could not be the chairman of a mission that was leaving at the precise moment when the Philippine problem was to be decided without the full support of the Filipino people, a support expressed in an indubitable manner. Under the circumstances, I could not go with the mission; and I am now happy that I did not go, because if I had been with the mission and the law which had been passed, had been passed despite my protests, there would be always some gentlemen who would assert that it is Quezon who is the advocate of autonomy—who is responsible for this law."

President Quezon and his followers objected to the H-C-H law mainly because of the provision for American military and naval reservations after the transition period; the export tax which would be ruinous to Philippine trade and industry; the powers granted to the High Commissioner; and other various and sundry reasons. The opponents of the bill examined each provision with a fine tooth-comb. President Quezon, after his experience with the Jones law and after his clash with Wood, in a speech before the legislators revealed:

"It was then, [after the fight with Wood] gentlemen, I realized that when we studied or would study a law passed by Congress, on our relations with America, we should proceed slowly and examine the significance of each word and phrase

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and come out openly if there be any doubt about its interpretation against us and in favor of the sovereign power. I then realized also the crass error that I committed in the discussion of Jones bill No. 2, which, be it said in passing, is not the bill which I had preferred, for that which I did prefer was Jones Bill No. 1; when in the discussion of the Jones Law, I repeat, I knew that it would be impossible to have a law passed granting us our immediate independence as provided in the Clarke amendment, I centered my attention upon, and directed all my efforts to, changing that apparent defeat into a victory by means of the preamble to the Jones Law.

"I assured the Filipino people that their liberty was coming with the promise that independence would be given us as soon as a stable government had been established here; and my attention was fully engaged by this preamble, taking into account the unequivocal expression of policy to be adopted and should be adopted by the government constituted under the Jones Law, which was to give to the Filipinos the greatest possible autonomy consistent with the exercise of American sovereignty."

Having made an error once, President Quezon was not to be caught twice in a mistake of the same sort.

A bitter struggle took place; the Democrata party broke and took sides with either Quezon or Osmeña. Sweeping political realignments occurred, and the country was divided into the pros and the antis with regard to their stand on the H-C-H law. Even academic tradition of remaining aloof from political issues was rudely shattered when Rafael Palma, then president of the state university, entered into the affray; while two deans, Jorge Bocobo and Maximo Kalaw, maintained a sustained polemic in the newspapers. Even General Aguinaldo sided, this time, with Quezon.

According to some well-informed observers, some ambitious followers of *el presidente* wanted to displace Osmeña and Roxas from power in order to take their places; others say that the Osrox combination, guessing that the masses would be with them, were eager to force the issue and to come to a break with the Quezon faction. Perhaps these commentators are right. But it is an incontrovertible fact that had the legislature accepted the H-C-H law, Osmeña and Roxas would share the credit in securing a law more generous than the Jones bill. Thus Osmeña and Roxas would have the leading rôles under the Commonwealth. Both Quezon and Osmeña must have realized this. No matter how sincere these two men and their

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followers were on the question, the personal element must have unconsciously crept into their deliberations. The issue of the H-C-H law would finally decide as to who would be number one *politico* of the Philippines. Both were getting old in years, and this was to be the last duel in their political careers.

One sultry morning in July, 1933, President Quezon resigned from the presidency of the senate to find out if he still had the confidence of his fellow members. Senator Osmeña promptly voted in favor of his resignation, and virulently attacked his leadership as "opportunistic" and based on "clandestine combinations." This time it was Osmeña who was challenging Quezon. The Osrox party denounced Quezon as "arrogant," and *el presidente* came back with the crushing reply:

"It is my understanding that an 'arrogant' attitude means that without any justification one adopts postures and attitudes, but I have never believed—and I do not now believe, unless distinguished literary men can convince me to the contrary—that they can characterize as arrogant the attitude of a man, however humble and powerless he be, who asserts his rights and fights for them. There is a praiseworthy attitude; it is not an arrogant attitude; it is the attitude which every man should adopt who will not brook any oppression and who would at least protest against it."

The *antis*, however, had the situation well in hand. Señor Quezon continued as senate president, while Manuel Roxas was deposed from the speakership. As a consequence, the legislature rejected the H-C-H law. Quezon and Roxas had been bosom friends, and the latter owed the former his election to the speakership, but when an honest difference of opinion arose over the H-C-H act, both did not hesitate to take an uncompromising view, and both did not hesitate to terminate their political alliance.

Followers of Osmeña and Roxas now had a grievance to place before the people, who were nationalists in the majority and desired greater autonomy in any form. Quezon controlled the legislature, but elections were less than a year away. Wily Quezon immediately sailed for the United States to secure single-handed a better independence law. The odds were heavy against him. Influential Congressional leaders had declared that the matter of

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Philippine independence was a closed question; Congress would not consider opening the topic for at least another two years. Senator Key Pittman, then ranking member of the senate committee on territories and insular affairs, was brutally frank in stating that the independence question was a closed matter.

It is a tribute to President Quezon's tenacity, and diplomatic presentation of issues, that Congress passed a new measure called the Tydings-McDuffie law. *El presidente's* first task, upon arrival in America, was to win over Congressmen who were displeased at the rejection of the H-C-H law. Exerting his charming personality to the utmost, President Quezon was able to win over Senator Milard Tydings. He even patched up his previous disagreement with Senator Joseph Robinson. With the help of Joseph Tumulty, a lobbyist who received ₱25,000 for his services, and former Senator Harry B. Hawes, the Quezon mission was able to get a more sympathetic hearing for a better independence law.

In the middle of January, 1934, Quezon submitted his formula to President Roosevelt. The outstanding features of the formula were: 1. Independence in two or three years with limited free trade based on the volume of average exports of the years 1932 and 1933, and reciprocal trade relations after independence. 2. Alternative was also offered of independence in 1940, and in the meantime more autonomous government; and if this was accepted, in the meantime, a million tons of sugar, 200,000 tons of oil, and 6,000,000 pounds of cordage to be sent duty-free from the Islands to the mainland; with special trade relations after independence in 1940. Both plans carried provision for the neutralization of the archipelago.

Congressional leaders, won over by Quezon's frankness and tact, and spurred by selfish interests which wanted to erect economic and labor barriers against their little brown brothers at any cost, compromised and left the matter up to the White House; President Roosevelt referred the case to his trusted lieutenant in Manila; and Governor General Murphy, who had kept strict neutrality during the H-C-H fight, naturally favored coöperation with whoever was

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in power among the Filipinos. Thus the Tydings-McDuffie law was enacted. Again circumstances favored the man from Baler. Again he had done the impossible.

The Osrox party was now without any real issue. The ground underneath them had been snatched away. The pros had assured the people that Congress would not pass an independence law for some years, but Quezon secured a new measure. It was true that the new law did not differ radically from the previous one, but all that the pros could do was to accuse Quezon of personal jealousy and aggrandizement. President Quezon, on the other hand, could very well say that he had secured a better substitute. The Tydings-McDuffie law contained in unequivocal terms that complete independence would ensue after the transition period of about 10 years; and it abolished military reservations. Furthermore, President Roosevelt promised that the matter of trade relations would be taken up soon, so as to make the economic provisions more equitable to Filipinos, while the matter of naval reservations would be taken up at a later conference. As for the powers of the American High Commissioner, President Quezon astutely asked Governor Murphy to remain in the new capacity and thus establish a precedent which a future Leonard Wood would find hard to break. Otherwise, the Tydings law was the same as the Hawes bill. And that is the reason why the Sakdalistas, in attacking the Tydings independence law, merely repeat the majority of the attacks made by the antis against the H-C-H law.

The passage of the Tydings-McDuffie bill, approved on March 24, 1934, definitely cinched the elections of the following June for the Quezon party. President Quezon had complete control of both chambers of the legislature. Fourteen senators sided with him, as against four for Osmeña; sixty-three representatives voted for Quintin Paredes as speaker, while only nineteen were for Manuel Roxas.

The supremacy between him and Senator Osmeña was ended.

CHAPTER VI

Triumphant Leadership Reaffirmed

IN the latter part of 1934, President Quezon left the Islands for an operation at the John Hopkins hospital in Baltimore. He was suffering from gallstones. The operation was successful and Señor Quezon became one of the jolliest patients of that hospital.

From his bedside he discussed his experiences with urologists with reporters: "When I left Manila, the doctors told me I could drink nothing intoxicating. When I reached Java I saw a doctor, and he said 'a glass of beer would not hurt'. So I drank beer from Java to Paris. In Paris another doctor said: 'You should not drink beer; wine is the only thing'. So I changed gratefully to white wine. Then a French specialist told me: 'You should drink only champagne, it is the only thing for you.' So I drank champagne for a time.

"Then I reached the United States, and here my physicians tell me: 'Don't drink any wines and beers at all. Whisky is the only proper drink.' So now, if I want a drink, all I have to do is to decide which physician I will obey. But this time, we will drink the health of the American doctor in his own medicine."

He returned to Manila on December 22, 1934, with his health fully recovered, and in the gayest of spirits. He had reason to be happy. He knew he was going to be the first president of the Commonwealth. He felt and looked 15 years younger that morning in December, as he related:

"I told them in the hospital that prisoners convicted to the death penalty are usually given whatever food they ask for the day before their execution. Well, the night before my operation I wanted 'adobo' above everything else and asked that 'adobo' be served to me as my dinner. In Washington they had to

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search high and low for a Filipino cook, and the 'adobo' once prepared was rushed to the hospital in Baltimore.

"I did not want to worry my wife, so when I entered the hospital in New York, where I went first, I asked my physician to register me under another name. But the name he chose was Joe Brown, and who would take me for a Brown? Besides, apparently they had seen my pictures in the papers, and one of the nurses approached me with a twinkle in her eyes and whispered: 'Are you really Mr. Brown?'

"I never said a word to my wife about the operation. When I registered in the hospital at Baltimore, I did not want to take any chances. I feared my doctor would give me another American name if I asked him to give me a fictitious name, so I registered as Pedro Lopez, and Pedro Lopez I was until the newspapermen discovered I was there.

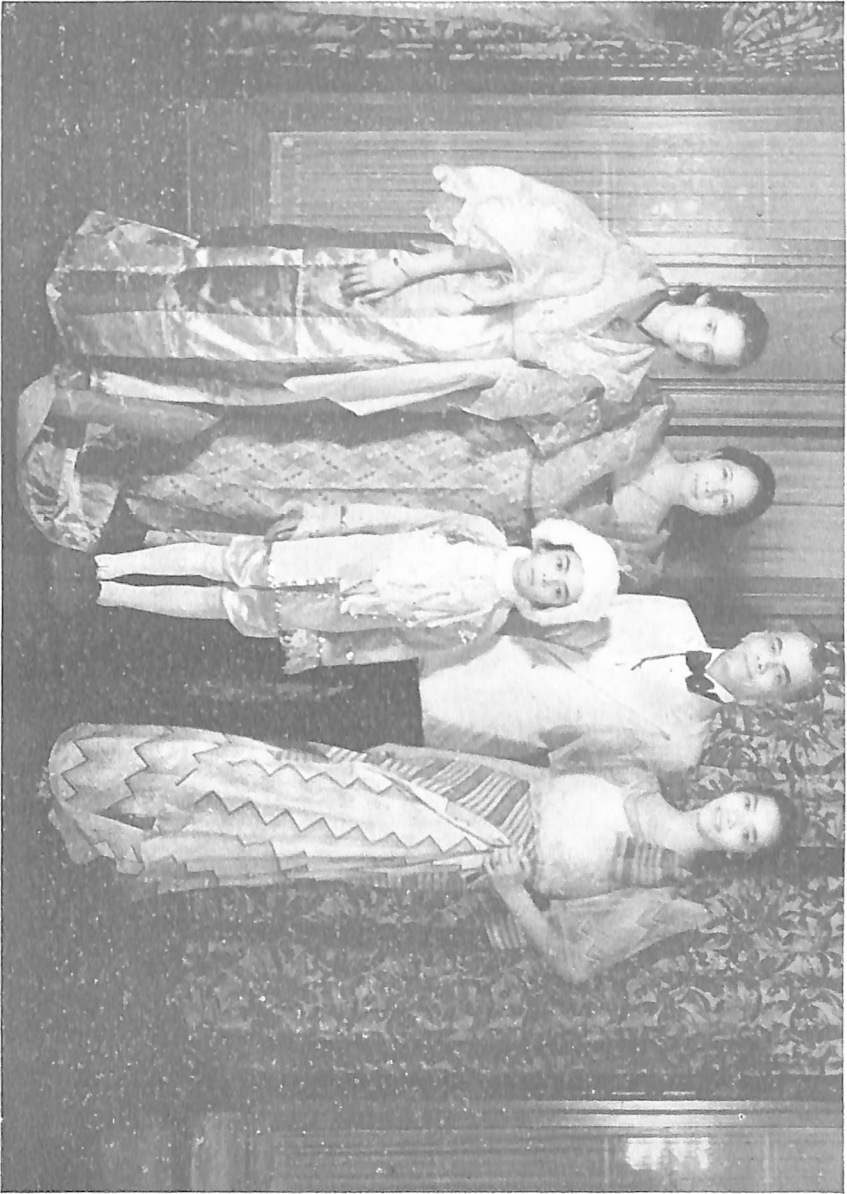
"When I was taken into the operating room and I saw Nieto, Estrada, Ehrman and others who were with me with long faces, I cracked jokes right and left to cheer them up. The doctors wanted to fool me by making it appear that I was going to be placed under anesthesia. One of the nurses had a piece of cotton covering my nose with some fake ether. I tried to inhale as deeply as I could but when after several seconds I felt I was not falling asleep, I peremptorily ordered the nurse to quit fooling me and to remove the cotton—which she did immediately.

"Then I saw the reflector right above me and everything that the surgeon was doing was reflected there, so I watched the reflector and was an interested spectator of my own operation, until the nurses caught sight of my eye and seeing what was happening placed a bandage on my eyes. All the time I was not feeling any pain. After 12 minutes of operation, Dr. Estrada approached me and I asked him in Tagalog: 'Ano ba, doctor, ano bang kalokohan ang ginagawa pa dian?' (Well, doctor, what foolishness are they still doing there?) to which he answered that the stone had already been removed. When the last stitches were being placed I felt the pain, and then I told the doctor it was time to stop.

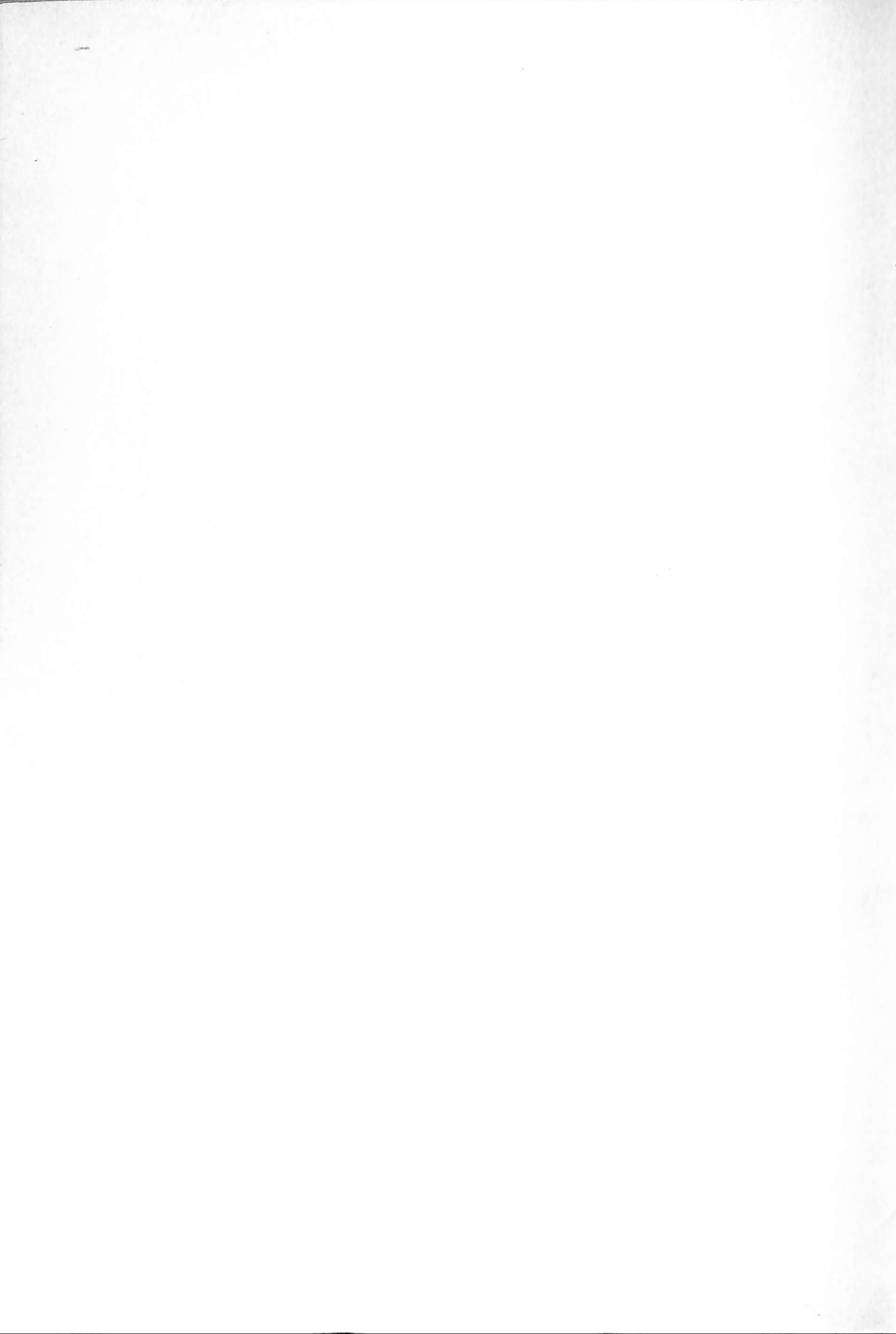
"Dr. Young is a remarkable surgeon and I don't think there is anyone like him anywhere in the world. He performed a wonderful operation, so wonderful it did not leave even a scar. All I have is a thin red line which looks like a pin scratch, and I can say that it is even elegant.

"The following day after the operation, I talked to my wife over the radio-
phone, and two days afterward I was already working full blast, dictating letters and reading books, so much so that I had a slight relapse, and the doctor had to give me strict orders to quit dictating and have complete rest.

"Now I feel younger, very much younger, and rarin' to go. . . . I'm glad that I continued my trip. I did not know that my kidney was already swelling



On Dña. Aurora's last birthday, on February 19, her family gave her a surprise party. Her children are (from left to right) María Zenaida, Manuel Jr., and María Aurora.



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and that if I had remained here and was not operated on in time, I would be critically ill now, and maybe instead of welcoming the young man that you are welcoming this morning, you would be visiting a decrepit old fellow in his sickbed, or accompanying him to the *Cementerio del Norte*. (The cemetery.)

"It was a major operation and something not to be scoffed at. But I don't know what there is in me that when a critical situation confronts me, I make the decision instantly, no matter what the consequences may be. Of course, when I was already on the operation table, I was worried by the fact that I did not tell the truth to my wife, and I was thinking of what she would say if I died without even bidding her goodbye."

Such an account as this is an illuminating sidelight into the real character of the man and husband.

A few weeks after his arrival, President Quezon outlined eight points to be observed during the Commonwealth period and after:

1. National unity and peace are absolutely essential to the preservation of Philippine independence.
2. The establishment of a strong national defense organization must be carried out to discourage foreign invasion.
3. The Filipino people should realize the heavy responsibilities of an independent existence and should be prepared to face the future with fortitude and courage.
4. Taxes must be paid for the support of the government, but should be levied in proportion to the paying capacity of the citizens.
5. The country should be made economically self-sufficient.
6. Abuses by high government officials, or by the rich and the powerful few, must not be tolerated.
7. The poor and the weak should not be oppressed and the fundamental governmental policy should be: not to make the poor poorer and the rich richer, but to make the poor rich and to provide relief for the needy.
8. Great care must be exercised in disposing of natural resources for development to powerful corporations, as these should be preserved for future generations.

President Quezon left the details of his program for future execution, while two immediate problems confront his attention: 1. Some sort of a reciprocal trade agreement with the United States after the Commonwealth, so as to rescue such products as sugar and coconut oil, which are absolutely dependent on the free American market; 2. Protection of the Philippines from possible foreign

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aggression, preferably with the help of the United States. To discuss these two important paramount problems with Washington officials, President Quezon left Manila last February; he also had the Philippine Constitution in his pocket for the signature of President Franklin Roosevelt. As a result, a round-table conference between Americans and Filipinos will be held some time late this year to discuss these and other problems.

In an interview recently given to a journalist in New York city, he gave a concise exposition of the problems facing an independent Philippines as follows:

"The security of the Philippines is constantly my special concern. I have two clear-cut sets of ideas about it. The first of these pertains to economics, the second to military defense. We feel we have ten years—the ten years of America's continued presence in the Islands—in which to perfect our defenses. We hardly think any enemy would attack us while the American flag still flies over the country.

"Now as to my economic ideas. They center entirely in the relations between America and the Philippines. We want these relations to be as close, as friendly, and as mutually profitable as they possibly can be made. And I want to emphasize, mutually profitable.

"We are not begging. We are talking business. We have raw tropical products which America needs and America has manufactured products which we need.

"Mutually advantageous reciprocal arrangements should be easy, and they would be mutually advantageous, not only economically, but politically. Large American economic interests in the Philippines would give America a moral position in the West Pacific which would strengthen her diplomacy throughout East India. It would mean that, while she had left the Islands in a legal sense—had ceased to be responsible for their governance—she was still there, very decidedly, in an economic and moral sense. I regard that as of immense importance to settle down political conditions in the Far East.

"Let no one mistake the opportunities for trade in the Philippines. They are great at present, and they will be vastly greater as the years go by. When the Stars and Stripes were raised over Malacañan Palace, there were 6,000,000 Filipinos. That was a generation ago. We now have 14,000,000 people. In another generation we shall have 25,000,000. Luzon is two-thirds the size of Java, and Java has 51,000,000. Our islands are as large as Great Britain, with

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a population of 43,000,000. And we have the highest living-standard in Asia. There will be 40,000,000 of these consumers in the Philippines at no very distant day—a magnificent prospective market.

“And it is the deep-seated desire of our people to build up the great American-Filipino connection of which I speak. It seems natural, America has been long with us. She has taught us much. Her splendid moral, educational, political and scientific imprint is a shining reality in the Islands. We are used to American products, American ideas, American ways of life, and we like them.

“We feel it would be an unspeakable pity, after all that America has done in the Philippines, for the two nations to drift apart, as they inevitably will unless they be welded together economically. Economics, in these times, determines national destinies. If America declines to enter into the reciprocal trade relations suggested, the Philippines will be compelled to seek their economic future in other directions.

“The economic side of my scheme of national defense consists in a progressive extension and consolidation of Filipino-American business, cultural, and sentimental relations. And a very powerful defensive mechanism it would be, good alike for Americans and for us, and with its unmistakable weight in the scales of international peace.

“Our military plans are purely defensive in conception and in limitation. My idea is to build an armament and munition factories, an arsenal and also an aviation factory, in the Islands. I will propose universal compulsory military training for our youth, and a highly-developed and well-equipped native army as a nucleus for our fighting power as a whole. Filipinos make very fine soldiers. They are among the most peaceable of men, but, if wronged, they love to fight, and they know how to fight.”

“We do not contemplate a navy of any sort. We think of only coastal defense, a thing which I am assured, can be made extremely effective. As to the most of Philippine preparedness for self-protection, if competent opinion may be trusted, it should not exceed a twentieth of our national budget, or about \$10,000,000 annually. In ten years we should be so strong in soldierly training, national discipline, and strategic fortification as to offer an emphatically unattractive objective for aggression.

“In any case, I want independence with all its risks. Independence is above price to individuals and to nations, and I do not think we shall be taking greater risks than others have taken, and taken successfully.

“My desire is to have an independent Filipino nation join the League of Nations. The League has had its troubles, made its mistakes, fallen short of the full realization of its lofty aims, but its aims have been, and are, lofty; and I should wish the Philippines to do anything in their power to add to its international force and value.”

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President Quezon is always a generous winner, in the same way that Senator Osmeña is a good loser. The seeds of conflict sown during the H-C-H controversy had taken root, and followers of these two men bitterly opposed their union. But both Quezon and Osmeña realized that partisan politics should give way to the best interests of the country; both of them, first one then the other, had ruled the country during the past three decades, and their rich experience and services were badly needed at this crucial moment in the life of the nation. With characteristic aplomb, Quezon told his followers that he would not be a candidate for the presidency of the Commonwealth unless Senator Osmeña was his running mate for the vice-presidency. Though the union of these two men were opposed by some selfish *politicos*, the majority of Filipinos in public life favored the movement, and thus the coalition became a reality.

From the viewpoint of practical politics, the coalition of these two great leaders was a wise move. It is not inconceivable that had Senator Osmeña—if he had been willing—joined forces with General Emilio Aguinaldo, the political supremacy of President Quezon would have been seriously endangered.

During the H-C-H controversy, Aguinaldo had sided with Quezon because of their common opposition to the bill. The generalissimo of the revolution wanted a short transition period—two or three years at the most. But when Quezon secured the Tydings-McDuffie law, with a similar period of transition as the H-C-H bill, Aguinaldo naturally fought the new bill. Last May 25, he announced his candidacy for the presidency; Raymundo Melliza of Iloilo, former associate justice of the Supreme court, was candidate for vice-president on the same ticket.

Bishop Gregorio Aglipay, founder of the Filipino Independent (Protestant) church, who had remained in the background since revolutionary days, announced on June 5 that he was also a candidate for the highest office under the Commonwealth; his chief purpose, he said, was "to defeat Quezon." On the same ticket with him was Norberto Nabong, a Manila radical.

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The coalition candidates conducted a dignified, front-porch campaign; their public statements were made to appeal to reason rather than prejudices, to the head rather than the heart. Aguinaldo stumped in central Luzon and the Visayas, but avoided the Ilocos provinces because of his unpopularity there with the followers of the late General Antonio Luna, an Ilocano, who was supposedly killed at his instigation. Bishop Aglipay proved to be the most colorful and sensational of the three candidates. The white-haired bishop, who is nearing 70, spouted blood and thunder; he added the salt and pepper to an election which would otherwise have been colorless because of the one-sidedness of the outcome. It was a foregone conclusion, ever since the 1934 elections, that Manuel Quezon would become the first president of the Commonwealth.

The election results were as follows:

<i>For President</i>		
Manuel L. Quezon.....	695,332	or 67.93%
Emilio Aguinaldo.....	179,349	or 17.51%
Gregorio Aglipay.....	148,010	or 14.45%
Pascual Racuyal.....	157	
Total.....	1,023,848	

The last-named candidate, an unknown from the southern islands, was the joker in the deck.

<i>For Vice-President</i>		
Sergio Osmeña.....	812,352	or 86.9%
Raymundo Melliza.....	70,899	or 7.5%
Norberto Nabong.....	51,443	or 5.5%
Total.....	934,694	

President Quezon's victory at the polls was conclusive; he won in all 50 provinces except three—Cavite, bailiwick of Aguinaldo, Ilocos Norte and Nueva Vizcaya where Aglipay was supreme. Sec-

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tionalism did not play an important part in these elections, unlike the 1934 elections over the H-C-H bill. Aglipay is an Ilocano, Aguinaldo a Tagalog, and Quezon also a Tagalog; yet Quezon won in the Ilocos provinces against an Ilocano, and in the Tagalog provinces against a Tagalog. In the Visayas, Quezon received an overwhelming majority. The city of Manila gave Quezon a decided surprise. Cities are usually against the party in power; during the 1934 elections, the city of Manila went heavily against Quezon. Yet last September, the capital gave Quezon a majority of nearly 15,000 over Aguinaldo; and the cities of Cebu and Iloilo polled heavily in Don Manuel's favor. Quezon received four times as many votes as either of his opponents; his majority was twice the combined votes of the defeated candidates. The people had spoken overwhelmingly, decisively and conclusively in favor of President Quezon.

The votes cast for Aglipay were mostly sectarian ballots from followers of his church; while a good number of those cast for Aguinaldo were protest votes against *el presidente*. Had the bishop not entered the race, it is almost a certainty that Señor Quezon would have gotten as great a majority over Aguinaldo, as Osmeña did over his two opponents. The total number of votes cast for the vice-presidency was about 100,000 less than that cast for president; there was not as much interest shown in the vice-presidential race as in the fight between Quezon, Aguinaldo and Aglipay. Both Melliza and Nabong did not possess national reputations, and were not powerful enough to take away votes from Osmeña.

Surrounded by his wife, Senator Osmeña, and a few intimate friends, President Quezon awaited the first results of the elections at midnight that September 17. Senator Osmeña was the first to congratulate him, and offered his hand, but Don Manuel instead embraced Don Sergio. Then Don Manuel drank a silent toast to Doña Aurora.

"I feel happy, of course," he said to those around him. "Yet more awed than happy. The Filipino people have once again endorsed our leadership, and I'm gratified beyond words by their

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overwhelming endorsement. But more than mere gratification, I feel the weight of the responsibility that has been placed on our shoulders anew. I am awed by the significance of this trust, and I can only pray God that we shall be equal to it. It is not the position itself, you see, that matters now however glorious it may be. It is the greater privilege that has become ours to serve the people, and corresponding to this privilege the vaster responsibility which we must bear."

"What will you do the first thing tomorrow morning?" he was asked.

"I will not wait for the morrow," he characteristically replied. "Tonight, before I go to bed, I will fall down on my knees and thank God for this privilege of serving the people again. The days to come will be trying days for us and I will ask His help. Tomorrow morning, I will go to my office at the Legislative building, and there be alone in the place where I have spent many years shaping as best as I may the destiny of our country. I have developed a sentimental attachment to that office; it has known my shadow and my voice more intimately than has my own home, and I will go there for leave-taking, as it were.

"And after that, I will go to Malacañan to thank Governor General Murphy for his kindness in calling up to congratulate me tonight. Tomorrow noon, I will be with my family—alone."

Manuel Luis Quezon y Molina, who had risen from poverty in the humble town of Baler, was now the accepted leader of his country and his people—he was now the Man Of Destiny.

* * *

The Quezon of today is a totally different man from the Quezon of two decades, or even one decade, ago. He is now a statesman in the highest sense of the word, though he still has traces of the politician in him. With increasing responsibility, he has become

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more of a realist and less of an optimist—he is more conservative in his public utterances than he used to be, specially at the time of General Wood.

“I was once,” he recently confessed, “among the most confirmed of international optimists. I was one who believed—believed in my heart—that ‘The War To End War’ was precisely that. My faith led me to desire that Filipino soldiers should fight in the war, and that Filipino money should support it. I believed when that monstrous struggle was over, that aggression would be dead and war forever ended.

“But now—my views have changed. My beautiful vision now eludes me. One sees the world bristling with armaments as never before. Everywhere, warlike manufacturers and chemists are busy, navies and armies are growing, warships are maneuvering, soldiers are drilling, guns are rumbling, political and economic systems are clashing, people are disputing and quarreling, and one hears very little of a determination in any quarter to effectuate peace treaties. The scene is disturbing. Perhaps, just as I was too optimistic, too much of a dreamer—once—so I may be too pessimistic, too much of a realist, now. I hope so. No statesman can rest his policy on a foundation of hopes.”

His election to the presidency, and the full realization that his words and deeds for the next six years will affect not only living Filipinos but generations yet to come, have had a sobering effect on him.

A week after the elections, in a talk given before members of the Philippine Columbian association, he said: “This victory makes me a debtor to no particular group or individual; no political party will have the right to come to me and say, ‘You must do this, Mr. President, for we have elected you.’ I have been elected as the candidate of the two national parties in the Philippine Islands, and these two national parties have assumed with me the responsibility of carrying out the platform which the two parties in separate conventions have jointly adopted. They, with me, are

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bound to give this country a government free from political considerations, and I want to say right now that I intend to do this—whether the two parties desire to join me in doing it, or not. . . .”

Frank talk from a man as candid as President Quezon, is heartening to all Filipinos who have the welfare of their country at heart.

A man as colorful and interesting as President Quezon has many facets to his personality; there are still numberless anecdotes and incidents which, when related in the near future, will accentuate or reveal some hidden trait of his character.

In one of his numerous trips to Baguio, Dr. Eduardo Quisumbing of the bureau of science once accompanied him. Upon their arrival in the Pines City, Dr. Quisumbing received a telegram stating that his son had been suddenly taken very ill. The President found out about it, and immediately volunteered, “Don’t worry—we’ll return at once this afternoon, instead of tomorrow.” A devoted father himself, he sympathizes with the feelings of parents over their children, and is always solicitous and as helpful as he can be. He even forgets enmities incurred at the heat of political campaigns when affliction or sorrow visits his opponents. For example, when the son of Camilo Osias died, President Quezon without being asked gave one thousand pesos for funeral expenses, as he knew quite well that the former resident commissioner, who had been his bitter enemy during the Hawes-Cutting law controversy in 1934, had spent every centavo in a vain effort to combat him. Magnanimous to a fault, he has always been a noble adversary, and never harbors petty or bitter feelings against opponents once the struggle is over.

President Quezon once bawled out one of his private secretaries for some mistake or the other. The secretary felt so bad about it that he immediately wrote a letter of resignation. Quezon received the letter while in a conference with some legislators. He had already forgotten about the incident, and was surprised by the letter. He called the secretary, who reminded him of what had happened.

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"*Caramba*," said *el presidente*, "is that all? I had forgotten all about it. I'm sorry I said anything to hurt you. If you want I shall apologize before all these gentlemen for what I said."

As Manuel Nieto, his intimate friend and bodyguard, once remarked: "President Quezon's *puñeta* is more of a benediction than a malediction."

Unlike George Washington, with that bed-time story of the cherry tree, Quezon once hedged around the truth to prevent his children from knowing facts which were "not nice." He was accompanied by his children on one of his recent trips to Europe. While promenading one day in Monte Carlo, they came across two members of the mission—both newspapermen—who were having refreshments at a café near the Casino in the company of two beautiful French blondes.

"Daddy," said one of the children, after *el presidente* had courteously tipped his hat to his friends, "who are those ladies?"

"Oh—" he replied, as he cleared his throat, then explained like a perfect gentleman, "—oh, those ladies are their secretaries. . ."

Frank and honest by disposition, Quezon also appreciates those qualities in others. Late one night, after all the important visitors had departed from his Pasay home, a man wanted to see him. The man, who had been waiting half the day to see the senate-president, was a minor employee in the bureau of printing. He said that he had been included in the blacklist prepared by the Secretary of Interior for being a Communist and was going to be discharged; with a large family dependent on him, he pleaded, he could not afford to be without employment.

"Is it true that you are a Communist?" asked Quezon.

The man paused, then quietly replied: "Yes, *señor presidente*."

Suddenly President Quezon realized that here was a man, a humble government employee, who had the courage of his convic-

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tions in the face of disaster itself. He patted the caller on the back as he promised: "I like your frankness, and I shall do what I can for you."

The employee was not discharged, and to this day remains one of the staunchest supporters of the president.

Did you know that President Quezon also bears the legal surname of Antonio? Santiago Antonio and his wife, humble residents of Manila, had known Quezon since 1901 and had even given him free board and lodging in their poor house, first in Pandacan and later in Santa Cruz, until Don Manuel was appointed fiscal. Years later, Quezon took care of them in their old age and never failed to give them a monthly pension in gratitude for what they had done for him when he was an obscure, impoverished student. *El presidente* held the old man with such great affection that he consented in 1923 to be legally adopted by *Mang* Tiago, who was then 78 years old. Thus his full legal name is Manuel Luis Quezon Antonio y Molina. When *Mang* Tiago passed away some years ago, Don Manuel cried as if his own father had died.

President Quezon is by no means the inflexible, unbending personality that he sometimes appears. In fact, he has been accused of lacking in tenacity; the sort of a person, they say, who can be influenced by those nearest to him. In the American community at Manila, there is a saying that "when Osmeña promises something, you can safely go to sleep on it, as he'll fulfill it no matter what happens." This adage was particularly popular after Quezon had broken his promise to Wood to sell the Cebu Portland Cement company. But his complete reversal of attitude was proof that he was no dictator; on the contrary, he changed his position in accordance with Filipino public opinion. He was the servant of the people—and not their master.

In 1925, President Quezon frequented a certain cabaret so often that it became an open scandal. The then editor of the *Tribune*, Carlos P. Romulo, wrote scathing editorials attacking the senate-

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president's open departure from official decorum. The attacks got under *el presidente's* skin and so he sent for Romulo.

"If you stop writing those editorials, I'll stop going to cabarets—but if you keep on printing them, I'll go there every night just to spite you!" bargained the senate-president.

"The latter part will not then be necessary," assented the young editor.

True to his agreement, Quezon checked his bohemian propensities and has behaved ever since in public like a respected and proper leader of the nation.

A male as gallant to females as President Quezon is of course in favor of woman suffrage. But back in 1914, he was against it as his speech before Congress testifies:

"I believe in the political equality of men and women. I would not subscribe to the theory that the right to vote belongs exclusively to man because of his sex; therefore I would not withhold the franchise from women if they wanted to exercise it; but neither would I impose this duty upon them against their will. . . . I am opposed (to suffrage) because the women of my country—practically all of them, so far as I know their will—do not want to vote."

That was at the time when the question of women's rights was one of the dominant topics before the American people. By 1916, when the insular Senate was created, President Quezon underwent a change of attitude. With Senator Rafael Palma, he delivered a long, vigorous oration urging the granting of the ballot to Filipino women. Perhaps it was a chivalrous gesture on his part, or merely good politics; but that he is sincere on this point is proved by the fact that since then he has always favored giving the franchise to women. He has not forced his views on the subject, however, on his fellow-legislators, and has left them free to decide on the matter. As a result, Filipino women will not be allowed to vote during the Commonwealth unless the Constitution is amended.

When he returned on April, 1934, after bringing the Constitution to President Roosevelt for signature, a delegation of women

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met him at the boat. He warmly congratulated them for getting a suffrage law.

"But Mr. President," wailed the women, "we are not voting in the next elections—not yet."

"No?" the president knitted his brows for a moment. "Well, all right—we shall have the law amended—"

The women smiled. He paused and smiled back: "All right, we shall have it amended so that the women will never vote!"

The feminists alternately groaned and smiled at *el presidente's* little joke.

Smart in parrying questions, he has eluded reporters more than once on non-diplomatic topics. Last year, while on his way back to the Philippines, Japanese reporters asked him pointblank if he would recognize Manchukuo when the Islands became independent.

"I can't say what the new government will do," he parried.

"But you will be the first president of the Republic—you must know what it will do," insisted the newshawks.

"Do you think so?" asked Don Manuel as he smiled broadly.

"Yes, and we hope you will be!" replied the Nippon newspapermen.

"But perhaps I'll be too old then. At any rate, before we can recognize Manchukuo, the Philippine Republic will first have to be recognized by Japan. Will she do so?"

"Yes!" chorused the newspapermen, characteristically drawing in their breath sharply between closed teeth. They smiled and bowed, as they realized that *el presidente* had turned reporter instead of celebrity.

Don Manuel's sense of humor has saved him some times from being placed in a disadvantageous position. Once, while en route to Manila, reporters noticed the model of a Japanese warship in his

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cabin. The newshawks facetiously remarked that perhaps the model was a sign of coming events. President Quezon laughed it off; he explained that it was a gift for his son, and added, "in order to avoid illusions of political storms awaiting the Philippines, it might be better if the model were placed in the hold where it would not be seen."

When the *Haiun Maru* incident took place nearly a year ago, involving Japanese fishing poachers who had manhandled constabulary soldiers, President Quezon tempered the seriousness of the occasion by humorously remarking: "If they don't look out, I'll send the Madrigal and Elizalde fleets against them!" It might be explained that the Madrigal and Elizalde fleets consist of a few ships used in interisland commerce.

President Quezon has reputedly amassed millions during his public career—but these are only canards circulated in the heat of a political campaign. General Aguinaldo hinted something about it during his fight with Don Manuel at the time of Wood; and again former Secretary of Interior Honorio Ventura during the H-C-H issue. In answer to these charges, he related:

"After our first baby came, the need for making money became more evident to me, and I went into a business with Judge Ortigas at his own invitation. He, Judge Ortigas and Mr. Whitaker, were buying a very big property and they were willing to take me in as their partner with one-eleventh share. Real estate business can have no possible incompatibility with my duties as president of the senate or senator, and I accepted the proposition provided I found the money I had to put—which I did not have.

"Through the guarantee of my friend Mr. Tomas Earnshaw, I secured a one hundred thousand peso loan from the National bank—Mr. Earnshaw having at the time three times as much deposit in cold cash in the said bank. My participation in the real estate to be purchased answered for my debt. The business was a success. I paid my debt to the bank, and from what I made out of this transaction I have been acquiring other properties.

"My total rent at present (1934) is not more than ₱12,000 a year, although when I need more money I borrow it, or sell some property of mine. All I have left now is my house in Pasay, another in Mariquina and one more in Baguio. A big piece of land in Baler, over 1,000 hectares, belonged to my father through

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occupation under the Spanish laws and which he was never able to cultivate. This property, which originally was about 3,000 hectares—because it was left unattended by me—was occupied by homesteaders. When I went to Baler and found that nearly two-thirds of the property had been occupied by homesteaders, I allowed them to keep all that they were occupying. What was left does not yield a centavo, and steps have already been taken for its distribution among the people of my town.

"Besides, I have a coconut plantation—about 3,000 trees—in Sariaya, also worthless at this time; 200 hectares of land in Nueva Ecija which yet gives me no return; a participation in a real estate in Balintawak from the sale of which I get about ₱6,000 a year; one small lot near the University of Santo Tomas; two fishponds, practically the only property which gives me any income; and about ₱6,000 worth of gold mine stocks."

Don Manuel later had cause to thank his lucky stars for having donated his paternal land to homesteaders. "Thank heavens," he said to his friends after the presidential elections, "that I had given the land as a gift. Those homesteaders were all Ilocanos, and good Aglipayanos, but they all voted for me. Imagine how politically embarrassed I would have been had I failed to win in my own native town of Baler!"

As Baler is his home town, as well as that of his wife, President Quezon has a strong sentimental attachment for the place. In his Pasay home, he has a big aerial picture of the town with these words: "Where First I Saw The Light Of Day."

There must have several times during his public career that President Quezon felt sorry he ever entered politics. Was the neglect of his wife and family sufficiently compensated by service to his country? Politics is a fickle mistress to serve, and Don Manuel must have been sorry more than once that he had ever chosen a political career. His numerous attempts to retire bear out this point. Once, while on his way back to Manila from Europe after the conference with Senator Osmeña over the Hawes-Cutting bill, he confided to Marcial P. Lichauco:

"I advise you never to go into politics—it's a disillusionment, and remember that the person telling you this has made a success of politics. Yet, take it from me, don't enter politics if you can avoid it."

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This statement was unquestionably sincere. He had known for a long time Atty. Lichauco, who was technical adviser of the Osrox mission. Lichauco had been one of his protégés.

Having risen himself from the masses, President Quezon has the welfare of the *taos* and workers at heart, though in the past he has been too preoccupied with affairs of national importance to have paid them more than a passing attention. When tobacco factory workers decided to manage their own plant, the Katubusan, he was active in helping them raise funds. He was also responsible for inserting a provision protecting laborers in 1918, when the Manila Tobacco association and the Cigar Makers' union were at loggerheads. He is also said to have been the first arbiter in the archipelago between labor and capital. When cigar and cigarette workers at La Germinal went on a strike, Commissioner Quezon mediated and offered his own salary to feed the family of the men on strike, but the generous offer was not accepted by the grateful workers. Now that the plight of our masses has been forcibly brought to the attention of our leaders, laborites can take heart with these encouraging words of President Quezon:

"The fate of the proletariat in our country should engage our best thought more than ever. We now have in our midst the seeds of discontent which is not wholly unwarranted. There are tenants in the Philippines who work throughout life and live in the most abject misery, only to die burdened with debt to the landowner for whom they have toiled. This state of affairs must stop. And our factory laborer does not yet enjoy the right enjoyed by the laborer in other civilized countries. We should give our laborers what in equity belongs to them."

What is President Quezon's greatest achievement? The Jones law was an important victory, but the Tydings-McDuffie law was even greater. These two accomplishments, however, pointed to one end—that of independence. In the words of President Quezon on his fifty-sixth birthday, when he evaluated his own work:

"Of course, my most important achievement is to have contributed to the realization of the national ideal of the Filipino people to become an independent nation.

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"I don't claim to have the sole—not even the main—credit for the achievement of this great national undertaking. But it is the one cause to which I have dedicated my life. I fought for it on the field of battle as well as in the halls of Congress, and on my last mission to the United States I brought the law which assured to the Filipinos the grant of their complete independence.

"On this occasion it is well for all of us to acknowledge that the foundations for this national edifice have been laid by the Filipino heroes and martyrs of the past, and it is to them that our people owe an eternal debt of gratitude.

"Nor should we forget the living—the President of the erstwhile Philippine Republic and the commander-in-chief of its forces, General Aguinaldo; and former Speaker Osmeña.

"I also wish to pay tribute to my collaborators of later days: former Speaker Roxas, and the members of my delegation, Senator Quirino, Commissioner Gabaldon; and last but not least, Speaker Paredes, who in my absence, while on my last mission to America, with president pro-tempore Clarin and Senator Recto, bore the brunt of the work in the Philippines.

"My most important immediate task is to make sure, as far as human foresight and ability can make it, that the independence of the Philippine Islands will mean safety, freedom and prosperity for the people of the Philippines. In this task, the full coöperation of the Filipino people is required, and I earnestly ask my people to give it to me.

"In general, I should say that we have to see to it that our government win the confidence, not only of our nationals, but of foreigners as well. This will go a long way to win for us the respect of the world, and to avoid any cause or excuse for foreign interference with our affairs.

"We must have a constitution that will vouchsafe to us our individual and political liberties and the stability of our public institutions.

"But the constitution alone, no matter how wise and farseeing in its terms, is a dead letter unless the character and the spirit of the people give it life."

The government of the Commonwealth will necessarily be a strong central government. Senator Kenneth McKellar, member of the congressional mission which came here on a trip last year, claims that a provision erecting a dictatorship was struck out at the last minute from the Philippine Constitution at the request of Quezon who had learned that McKellar had been told about it. It does not matter whether this is true or not. Our president himself has noted that: "The Constitution of the Philippines gives tremendous powers to the President; powers that are not given by the

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constitution of the United States to the President of the United States. I expect to make use of those powers if and when it may be necessary. But I expect to use them only for the good of our people."

El presidente is an admirer of Benito Mussolini, iron man of Italy. "He talks loud but everybody can rely upon him to do the right thing," Don Manuel once remarked. On the other hand, Señor Quezon does not care at all for Adolf Hitler of Germany. "That's not my idea of a leader," he said of *Der Fuehrer*, who believes that the choice of 90 per cent of the German people should be the incarnation of their will, aspirations and even their prejudices.

How President Quezon will fit in the scheme of Philippine history, only the next six years can tell. It is not improbable that he will fall into a class all by himself, and will neither be a Gandhi nor a Mussolini—or even a Franklin D. Roosevelt.

To a great number of persons, President Quezon is an enigma—yet he is no more of an enigma than you or I. It is true that he is subject to sudden changes in attitude and conviction, specially when he is personally undecided. But once he sets out on a course of action, he is as implacable as a Simon Legree. He is susceptible to contradictory utterances; but we must bear in mind that *el presidente* is a nimble-witted speaker who dishes out to his audience what they want to hear. He is a past-master of political trial balloons—statements issued to catch how the wind of public opinion is blowing.

Adverse critics of our president charge him with being inconsistent in his political ideology. In a way they are right. But most of his so-called inconsistencies are the result of growth of thought and an accumulation of experience; men who hold a set of fixed views for a score of years without an iota of change fall into the class of backward, reactionary persons with fossilized brains. President Quezon is a dynamic, not a static, personality.

Take the matter of the Philippines and foreign aggression. He favored the neutralization of the archipelago at the beginning,

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as witnessed by his maiden speech before Congress way back May 14, 1910, when he said:

"As a safeguard of the independence of the Philippines, the Filipinos ask of the American people their good offices in favor of the neutralization of the Islands. The Filipinos firmly believe that in order to consummate the great work inaugurated by the United States in those Islands, she will not refuse to take the necessary steps to bring about the agreements of the great nations of the world for the neutralization of the archipelago."

Yet about 15 years later, in an authorized interview given to Nicholas Roosevelt for the *New York Times*, he said:

"We do not fear that any nation will attempt to capture these Islands once America has withdrawn from them. World conditions no longer permit an act of wanton aggression such as an attack on a defenseless Philippines. Our very weakness is our strength. Besides, it will be in the interest of every nation that the Philippines remain free from the control of another nation once they have been given their independence by the United States.

". . . I have every reason to believe that the withdrawal of American sovereignty from the Philippine Islands will remove one danger of potential misunderstanding between some nations having interests in the Far East."

This Pollyana attitude was, of course, for the benefit of American readers. He would indeed have been a poor psychologist had he voiced fear of Japan or any other country; the American public would wrongly take this to mean that the Filipinos did not want complete independence, and the Japanese would resent the implied accusation. He may have deviated from a fixed goal, like a wise navigator who shifts his course to take advantage of contrary winds and currents, but has nevertheless remained steadfast to his purpose.

By 1935, President Quezon's views on the subject underwent an evolution; he became a thorough-going realist. Before a group of American university-trained Filipinos at the Philippine Columbian clubhouse last January 15, he said:

"One of the most important problems of the commonwealth is national defense. We should get ready to defend our country. There are those who believe that the country would be safe under a neutrality agreement. That was

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also my opinion. I thought that if we could secure a neutrality treaty, we would be just as safe as if we had sufficient force to defend our country. But anyone who has not learned from the experiences of the last 20 years, must either be blind or a fool or both. Thank God I am neither.

"The neutralization of the Philippines is O.K. We should take advantage of the authority given to the President of the United States under the Tydings-McDuffie act to negotiate a treaty for the neutralization of the Islands, but we cannot rely on that treaty alone: we must get busy and be prepared to defend ourselves, just in case some one should decide to proclaim that treaties are mere scraps of paper."

Now take the matter of economic relations with the United States. On this subject he has maintained a more consistent attitude. When there was talk in Congress during the early months of 1928 to limit the entry of duty-free Philippine sugar to the United States, President Quezon said to the Associated Press: "The Philippine Islands are prepared to lose the protection of American tariff in exchange for freedom."

That was a do or die statement, a clear-cut presentation of the issue: he would not sell his country's birthright to liberty for a mess of pottage.

But like the shrewd bargainer that he is, President Quezon would like to have independence with free trade, as it is to the advantage of the Filipinos to maintain economic ties with the United States. "Many of our industries depend for their existence on our reciprocal free trade relations with the United States, and we should try to maintain these trade relations if possible, even after independence," he said in his acceptance speech for nomination to the presidency.

President Quezon's political ideology during his long career as a public man is illuminating as well as interesting. The Philippine National Library presented him as a gift on his last birthday eight fat typewritten volumes of his speeches and articles about him during the last three decades. Evidently, even an extract of such speeches would be out of place in a popular biography like this. Of all his numerous public talks, his acceptance speech for nomina-

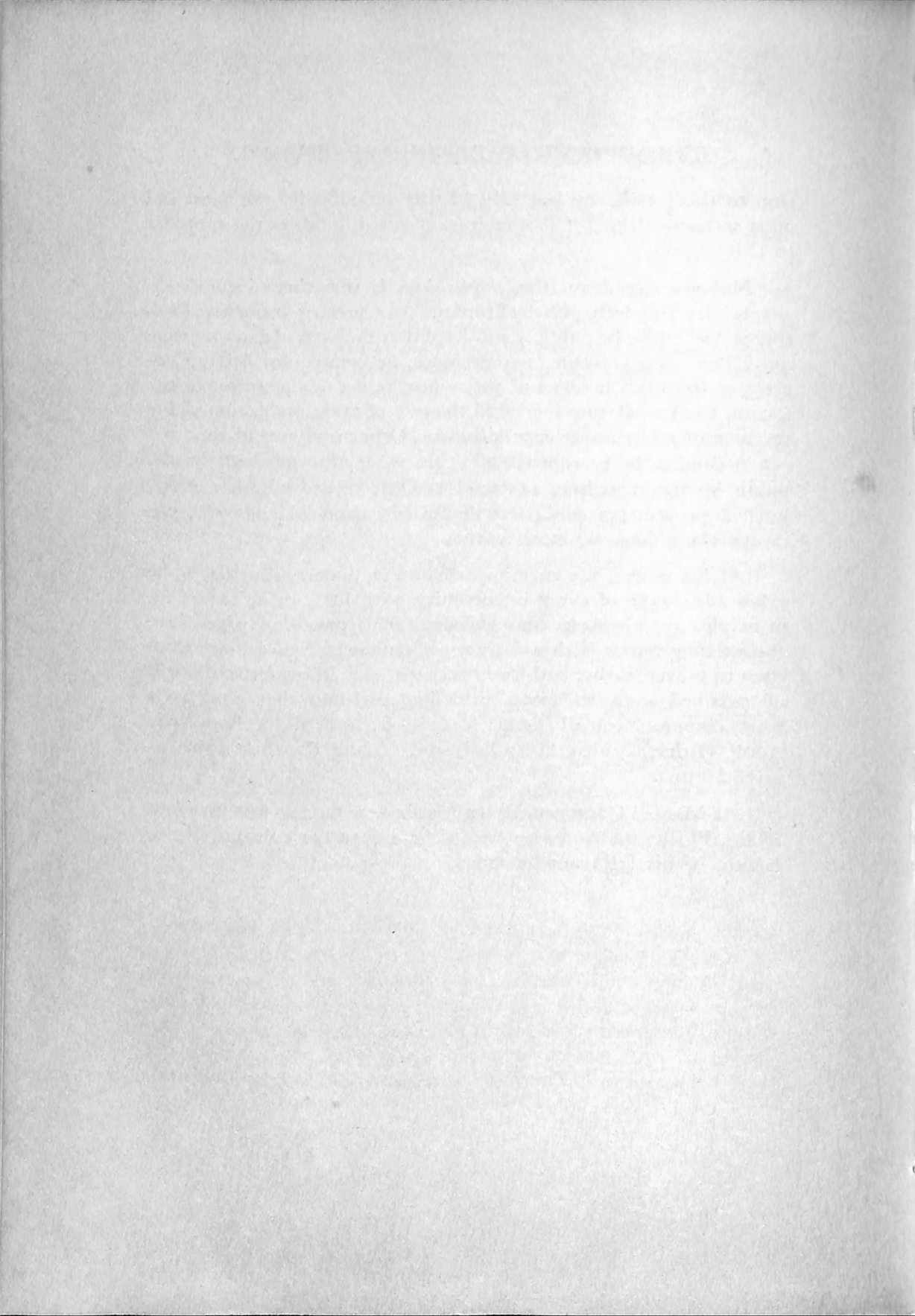
TRIUMPHANT LEADERSHIP REAFFIRMED

tion to the presidency last July 20 was undoubtedly the finest and most statesmanlike. The speech is reprinted in full at the appendix to this volume.

Nobody can deny that *el presidente* is sometimes inconsistent—specially on purely political topics. As a member of the first Philippine Assembly, he publicly admitted that the rates of taxation were quite low; as a resident commissioner, he complained before Congress of the high taxes; and yet, when he became president of the senate, the Legislature increased the rate of taxation because of the increase in government expenditures. Other instances of this sort can undoubtedly be reproduced. No man who has been in the public spotlight as long as President Quezon, and who has undergone a progressive evolution in his education and outlook, can escape the charge of inconsistency.

At his worst, his enemies call him an opportunist; that is, he takes advantage of every opportunity with little or no regard for principles or ultimate consequences. The preceding pages have shown how unfair is this charge. It cannot be denied that he has risen to power, rather ruthlessly perhaps, and allowed the thought of personal gain to creep into his decisions—but that is a trait common to all great leaders—from Franklin Roosevelt, Adolf Hitler, Benito Mussolini, and Chiang Kai-shek down to Josef Stalin.

As Manuel Quezon starts on his six-year term as first president of the Philippine Commonwealth, he enjoys the unbounded confidence of his fellow-countrymen.





DOÑA AURORA ARAGON DE QUEZON
Here she is seen wearing the Maria Clara dress of long ago.



FIRST LADY OF THE LAND

EARLY one morning about three years ago, a limousine purred on its way along the smooth concrete road surface of the Manila North road. Some 40 miles from Manila, just before reaching the town of San Fernando, Pampanga, the automobile slowed down as it approached an excited group of *taos* or farmers on the road.

A well-dressed man detached himself from the group and noticing the low license plate number of the car, exclaimed: "Please—*señora*, please help me—these people are going to lynch me!"

The sole passenger of the limousine did not recognize the man who had asked her help. Her car had stopped and without a moment's hesitation, she opened the door and got down. At a glance she noticed that the man's car had struck a *tao* who lay unconscious on the dusty road. Country people in the Philippines have an annoying habit of manhandling and even lynching motorists who run over pedestrians regardless of who may be at fault.

The crowd was in an ugly mood. Brown faces, usually impassive, looked sullen and dangerous. The injured man had been lying there for several minutes, yet nobody had done anything to help him. The female relatives of the injured man were audibly weeping, while the men stood ominously silent. Most of them gripped stout cudgels while a few silently unsheathed wicked-looking *bolos* or long knives that brightly shone in the morning sun.

The newcomer made her way to the center of the crowd where the unconscious man lay.

"Quick," she ordered in the Tagalog dialect to those around her, "lift him up gently and bring him to my car." Nobody moved. She had spoken in Tagalog, and as the *taos* were Pampangos who spoke a different dialect, only one or two understood what she had said. Somebody translated her order. Yet nobody moved to obey.

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"What are you going to do with him?" truculently demanded one of the male relatives.

"Bring him to the nearest hospital," she replied. The friends and relatives of the unconscious man looked indecisive. Poor country folks who tilled the land with their plodding *carabaos*, they could not quickly grasp the necessity of bringing the injured person to a hospital. In the meantime, precious minutes—minutes which meant life or death—were being lost.

"I am Mrs. Quezon," she announced—calmly, quietly. The men sheathed their *bolos* and loosened their grip on the sticks as they recognized the newcomer. Tattered straw hats were furtively taken off in respect. The women stifled their sobs.

"This man has been hurt," continued Mrs. Quezon in the same soothing, matter-of-fact tone; "and he should be brought at once to the hospital. You will not help him by hurting the person who was driving the car. If the driver was at fault, you can get justice from the courts—later. But not now.

"I promise you that this man will not die, and I will personally get a doctor to take care of him until he is well and strong again. Now, please, help me take him to the hospital."

And so great was the respect those simple *taos* had for Mrs. Quezon, and the manner with which she had tactfully met the situation, that they readily helped the injured man to the car. Furthermore, the driver of the car which had caused the injury, a government official, was allowed to depart in peace—without even an insulting word from the wounded man's relatives.

She did not recognize at the time the man who had asked her protection from the fury of the mob, yet it was characteristic of her to come to the aid of a stranger without a thought as to the possible dire personal consequences of her intervention. She instantly sized up a tense situation and quickly suggested a sensible solution. She did not know how badly the *tao* had been hurt, yet she readily promised to save his life and to return him as sound as if he had never met with the accident. When she got to Baguio, the summer capital, she called twice a day by long distance telephone to inquire about the condition of the patient. The doctors at the provincial

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hospital wanted to amputate a leg of the injured man, but she prevailed on them not to do so. As a result, after several weeks, the man returned to his family as vigorous and sound as ever. Mrs. Quezon had kept her word.

Doña Aurora Aragon de Quezon, wife of the first president-elect of the Philippine Commonwealth, is one of those rare women who have remained as charming and unaffected in eminence and power as in poverty and obscurity. This is the opinion not only of her closest friends who have known her since childhood, but of the thousands of Filipinos and Americans who have met her several times. She is as gracious to the humble *taos* of the rice paddy fields as to the *grande dames* of cosmopolitan Manila; she is equally at home in the nipa shack in a remote barrio of the Islands, as in stately Malacañan Palace.

The fact that she once lived in great poverty and toiled with her bare hands for her subsistence, is one of the reasons why she has preserved that democratic quality of treating everybody she meets on an equal level.

Youngest in a family of eight children, Doña Aurora was born on February 19, 1888, in the little town of Baler, Tayabas. This town is located on the eastern coast of Luzon, largest island of the archipelago, and is bounded on the east by the blue waters of the Pacific and on the west by the rugged Sierra Madre mountains. In this sleepy town of Baler, with scarcely a population of 2,000 inhabitants, grew Doña Aurora. Her parents, Don Pedro Aragon and Doña Zeneida Molina de Aragon, were one of the well-to-do and influential families of the district. They christened her "Aurora," the Spanish word for Dawn, because she was the youngest and prettiest of all her sisters.

Doña Maria Molina de Quezon, her aunt and mother of her future husband, was her first teacher. At the age of four she started to learn her ABC's. But Doña Maria died about a year later, and Aurora's eldest sister Emilia, who taught in the town public school, undertook to teach her. At the age of six, little Aurora was deemed bright enough to enter the school at the convent of the Franciscan friars of the town. The friars at that time conducted practically

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all schools outside of Manila and controlled all affairs—religious, educational, and civil—in such country towns as Baler.

But in 1896 the Filipinos led by General Emilio Aguinaldo revolted against Spain. News traveled slow in those days and it took weeks for information to percolate from Manila to Baler. When the commandant of the *Cazadores*, or the Spanish troops, in Baler learned of the insurrection, he forcibly seized members of several leading families of the town as hostages. These Filipinos were imprisoned in the town church, the only stone building in the entire district. And among those kept under duress was eight-year-old Aurora.

"All those things that happened then now seems like a dream," recalls Mrs. Quezon. "Of course, I was then only a little girl—and it happened so long ago. At that time—as I had never been anywhere outside of our little town—the blue sky up above seemed to belong to Baler, and only to Baler. I didn't know that there were other skies, reaching to farther and wider horizons."

Her father had unfortunately gone down to Manila and been implicated with the revolt, and so according to the good old Spanish custom he was thrown into the famous jail of the "Bartolina". This was a dungeon in one of the stone walls which surrounded the old fortress of Manila, and water seeped through the thick walls from the moats with the ebb and flow of the tides. At high tide, the brackish water rose to a height of several feet, and scores of Filipino political prisoners perished either by drowning or later from the effects of their incarceration in that damp, filthy hole. To make matters worse, the Spanish government, after concluding a treaty with the revolutionists, confiscated Don Pedro's properties in Baler.

Thus in 1898, before Admiral Dewey steamed into Manila Bay, did Doña Aurora abandon her studies to earn a living. Her father had become sick, while her mother was getting old in years. Dressed like any other poor Filipino girl of the fields, in a skimpy skirt and wilted chemise, ten-year-old Aurora and her sister Amparo—who was eight years older—pounded rice in the crude wooden mortar used by the poorest of the *taos*. Often she went barefooted and wore wooden shoes that hurt her tender feet. At short inter-

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vals, they journeyed to the adjacent forests to gather firewood, and carried water from the nearby river in earthen jars. With crude, home-made soap that burned their hands, they washed the family clothes regularly every week. The sisters planted a little vegetable garden where they could raise sweet potatoes and a few vegetables. During the rainy season, they went out on bare feet to plant each stalk of rice, knee-deep in the oozy mud. Sometimes the sisters walked for miles in the hot tropical sun to gather a few handfuls of rice or corn, and carried their burdens in small earthen jars balanced on top of their head. Constant exposure to the sun made them as brown as any farm maiden, though they were naturally light-complexioned because of the Spanish blood in their veins.

Their home had been confiscated by the Spanish government, so Doña Aurora's family moved into a nipa hut not larger in area than five square meters. In that little hovel made of bamboo and palm leaves, the family of five ate, lived and worked. The bedroom was also the living room as well as the kitchen. There were no beds, no mattresses, only the split bamboo strips of the floor to lie down on.

In that atmosphere of poverty and hardship, Doña Aurora's personality began to take shape and evolve into the lovable First Lady of the Philippines that she is now. To her dying day she will never forget that epoch of her life, and that is the main reason why she treats the poor and the rich alike, the humble *tao* on an equal basis as the mighty *cacique*.

Her father died in 1901, leaving her alone in the world with her mother and two elder sisters. Though Aguinaldo had just been captured by the Americans, the district was still in an unsettled condition, and banditry flourished. Her cousin, Manuel, who was 11 years her senior, was then starting to make a name for himself as a lawyer, and it was he who later paid her expenses as a student at the Philippine Normal school in Manila. On April, 1904, the three sisters went to Lucena, the capital of the province, to live there with their mother. Her cousin had become the Provincial Fiscal or prosecuting attorney of Tayabas. The following year Doña Aurora came to Manila and enrolled at the normal school, where she stayed

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as an *interna* or boarder. This school was started by Americans to train Filipinos who were eventually to become teachers.

Young Aurora was placed at the lowest rung of the educational ladder—grade 1B, in spite of her previous schooling. A more sensitive girl would not have gone to classes, for she was then seventeen and the majority of her classmates were around eight! But she was bright and eager to learn, and finished both primary and intermediate grades within three years. Señorita Aurora was extremely pretty and popular with girls as well as with boys. She was fond of dancing the *cariñosa*, the Filipino folk dance, and always took part in the various entertainments and parties given by the school.

She fell ill in 1907 and was ordered by her doctor to stop studying. She was then anaemic and not very strong. So back to Baler she went. She was ambitious to learn more than what she had studied in school, however, and began to cultivate the reading habit. She read every conceivable book in English, Spanish and Tagalog. Though she never had the opportunity to further her schooling, constant reading and personal observation have broadened her knowledge and outlook on life. Today she is one of the most cultured of Filipino women.

"My faith in reading good books is great," she confided. "I did not learn very much from school. I do not know how I would have learned to write and speak intelligently if I had not read so assiduously after I stopped going to school. Even now, I keep on studying by reading worthwhile books." She has a private library of some 2,000 books on all topics. During the past two years, she has started a collection of Filipiniana. At a recent birthday of hers, when friends showered her with gifts, she complained that not one of them had given her a book.

The impression she gathered from her first visit to America—on the way over she got married in Hongkong—was not very favorable. An influenza epidemic, which was then rampant in Manila, had left her rather indisposed by the time she landed in Seattle. She had been used to seeing green leaves, flowers and trees in the Islands, but Seattle in winter presented a drab appearance.



As charming as her name, Aurora, the Spanish word for "Dawn", is the First Lady of the Philippines. This rare photograph was taken when she was a student at the Philippine Normal School.



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That arrival in Seattle was one of the few times in her whole life that she ever felt depressed and discouraged. She has been four times in the United States and frankly likes the advanced standards in sanitary conditions and mass education of America.

Doña Aurora is an excellent example of the new type of Filipino womanhood: progressive in outlook, deeply religious yet tolerant, with the family as the focal point of her existence. She is a happy blend of three civilizations: the graciousness of Castile, the progressiveness of America, and the humbleness of the Malay.

Though she always lends support to innumerable civic and charitable movements, she prefers to stay in the background and leave the active work to others. She is, of course, an ardent feminist and believes in suffrage for Filipino women, but again she leaves her friends to actively push the movement. Her private donations to charitable institutions and individuals amount to a respectable sum, but like many other women of high position she is reticent on the matter.

The subordination of her personal self to the interests of her husband and her children is almost a by-word in the Philippines. She personally supervises household affairs though she leaves routine matters to her cousin Doña Carmen. She takes pains to prepare the food specially liked by her husband and children and rarely leaves home when any one of them is seriously ill. When President Quezon was taken ill in the United States in the autumn of 1927, she left Manila for the sanatorium at Monrovia, California, to be at the side of her husband. Her husband was then in a serious condition, suffering from tuberculosis, and with her own hands she prepared Filipino dishes to lessen the nostalgic longing for his own country. Her three children—Maria Aurora, 16, Maria Zeneida, 15, and Manuel Jr., 9—were with her, and for the first time since their marriage she had her family alone to herself without the frequent intrusions she had experienced while in Manila or Washington. In the early spring of 1928, her children fell sick and she was very much worried. To make matters worse, she also fell ill and upon the urgent advice of her physician had to make a trip to Philadelphia for an operation. After the operation, which was

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successful, she hurriedly took a train for California. But she was in a weakened condition and the nurse who accompanied her was not of much help. Just before reaching Kansas City, she collapsed on the train. Porters rushed her to an hotel where she lay in bed for about a month. That was the most disagreeable experience in her life. Alone, with strangers attending to her, not knowing the condition of her husband and children—it was an ordeal that tried the mettle of her soul. But that month taught her to live alone, to rely solely on herself, and gave her greater confidence to face future difficulties with a braver spirit.

An indication of her character may be gathered from her personal views in the education of children and the place of woman in modern life. "There are women," she says, "who think that a child should be treated leniently and who consider it perfectly right to give their children all they want and ask for. There are those who think it not wise to assume that attitude. Others think that the best way of bringing up a child is by being very strict. These are the ones who believe in discipline and its good effects. I am with them. I am of the same belief. Not because I consider myself absolutely right and the others mistaken. Children are of different types. So are the mothers. But while an intelligent mother may be relied upon for her judgment with regard to the real needs of her offspring, an ignorant mother usually fails in her attempt to do her best. There are children who refuse to heed the advice of their parents; some cannot be made to obey except through endless lectures; a few need the rod; while others can be taught better as to what is right and wrong by peaceful means and kind words.

"A woman, I think," she continues, "always has something to do at home, if what she wants is really something to keep her busy. Each woman rightly belongs to her home and the home always needs womanly care. I really see no necessity—in the Philippines, at least—for the assertion that society should come before the home. However, I'm not saying that the other people who hold different opinions are necessarily wrong." Doña Aurora tempers her conservatism by being broad-minded; she never persists

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in foisting her opinions on others. Thus it is with her religion. She is a pious Catholic, yet she keeps her religion on a strictly private basis.

Intimate friends of Mrs. Quezon will tell you that she is one of those rare women who never speak ill of any person. She is prompt in discouraging malicious gossip of any sort. She has been known, on several occasions, to turn her back on some society dowagers who spoke ill of other people while in her presence. "What you hear in one house, never repeat in others," is one of the Spanish proverbs she is fond of telling her children.

Besides collecting books, she is fond of keeping tropical fishes in glass containers all over the house. She personally feeds and takes care that the aquariums are well-balanced. She has a collection of some three dozen dolls dressed up in the costumes of various nations in their country home in Mariquina, Rizal. This house is several miles away from Manila and the Quezons always stay there for a few days whenever they want to get away from the political and social activities of busy Manila. A few years ago, she started collecting Philippine orchids in her Mariquina retreat, and today she has the finest private collection of orchids in the Islands—a collection which even the famed DuPonts of Wilmington, Delaware, would be proud to own.

Women of the Philippines are known for their business acumen, and though the man may be the titular head of the family, it is the wife who controls the purse strings. Mrs. Quezon is not an exception. Her investments in the gold and chromite mines have netted them a small fortune. President Quezon always listens to her advice, even in political matters. Señor Quezon is known for his passing outbursts of temper, characteristic of his impulsive, generous nature. Many a disgruntled big-wig has left his presence smarting from the tirade flung by *el presidente*, and would have become a sworn enemy had not Doña Aurora quietly smoothed his ruffled feelings prior to his departure. She is the perfect foil to the brilliant personality of her husband.

When she is convinced that justice should be done, she does not hesitate to use the prestige of her position to secure the desired

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result. Once, about a year ago, she learned of the case of a brilliant government scientist who had contracted a cancer in the throat. It was necessary for him to go to the United States for treatment, because of inadequate medical facilities in the Islands. He could not, however, afford to make the trip as he was not rich. Without personally knowing who that scientist was, Mrs. Quezon convinced her husband to take up his case. So great was *el presidente's* confidence in his wife's judgment that he moved heaven and earth to have that scientist sent to America, ostensibly to represent the Philippines in some sort of a conference but really to have his cancer cured. On another occasion, Mrs. Quezon learned that a prisoner was slowly dying of tuberculosis in Bilibid prison. She personally interested Governor General Frank Murphy and convinced him that it was the humanitarian thing to have that prisoner paroled. Later, she arranged the sick man's transfer to the Santolan sanatorium at the outskirts of Manila, and paid all bills from her own pocketbook.

It is things like these that have endeared her to those who know her. The masses respect and like her, for she is frank and democratic. She is easily accessible to all, more so to the poor, the weak and the oppressed. Every day, scores of people visit their home in Pasay—a southern suburb of Manila—from early morning to late at night. And it is a tribute to Doña Aurora that she has nearly as great a number of visitors as her distinguished husband. The people in the humbler walks of life know that they can rely upon her to help them as much as it is in her power to do so.

This November 15, she will move from her home in Pasay to become the mistress of Malacañan Palace for the next six years. For the first time in the history of the Philippines, a Filipino woman will occupy Malacañan—that historic century-old palace where proud Spanish governors once lived. But in spite of her being the first First Lady of the Philippines, Doña Aurora Aragon de Quezon will remain as charming and unspoiled as that little brown maiden who wrested a living from the soil to support her parents in a little obscure Philippine town three decades and a half ago.

END

(1)

~~I am constrained~~ By Manuel L. Quezon
President-elect of the Philippines

Once more I wish to say most emphatically that I ^{am} against American protectorate. It is idle to talk about it because were it ~~to be~~ ^{to be} every body in the Philippines were for it, America would not consider it for a minute. I think I know as well as anybody the attitude of ^{the} American people on this question. They ~~Philippine people have~~ ^{are} ~~not~~ willing to let us ~~have~~ have either our own sovereignty and independence or remain under American sovereignty. We choose the former and they gave it to us. But America under no circumstance will ever agree to let us have our own ^{sovereignty} and independence and yet ^{continue to} assume the responsibility for our protection against the world.

(-)

There is an ~~American~~ ^{American} ~~opinion~~ ^{attitude} which
they use to express their ~~feeling~~ ^{attitude} in this
subject. "You cannot have your cake and
eat it too." This is

that from the American point of
view. [Now, as to the Filipinos:

We have accepted the McKinley
Tyring's law, ^{for which I have worked} which provides for absolute
and complete independence ten years
after the inauguration of the
Commonwealth. ~~But~~ this independence
is the main objective of that law. The
approval of ^{our own} the constitution, the establish-
ment of the government of the
Commonwealth are only preparatory
steps toward independence - means
to accomplish, ^{or} to bring about this
end.

Anything we shall do now

(3)

the acceptance by the Legislature of
the McDuffie Tydings fact; the calling
of the constitutional convention the
drafting, ^{and} approval of that constitution
by the constitutional assembly and
by the President of the United States;

The acceptance of the constitution
thus approved by our people
through the President; the
elections of the ^{constitutional} officials of the
Commonwealth, and the establish-
ment of the government of the
Commonwealth itself - would all
be a mockery, acts of bad faith on
our part, unless we sincerely want and
mean to be ^{an} independent Nation.

The die is cast and there is



(4)

only one serious, one devout, one
honorable, one courageous thing for
the Filipino people to do and that
is to go ahead ^{toward the establishment of the Philippine Republic} without hesitation and
without ^{quit} dismay, with determination,
and firm labor.

That these ^{are} dangers in our path
~~are~~ ^{only the} ~~only the~~ ^{blind} or ^{the} ~~feel~~
madde ^{we shall soon see} ~~let us make and~~
every obstacle.

I am the President-elect of
the Philippines. The responsibility
to prepare the country for
independence and to make
sure that that independence
will last, rests mainly upon
my shoulders. If I did not



(5)

consider myself equal to the task;
if I had any doubt or hesitation,
I should ^{not} have ~~not~~ been a candidate,
and now that I have been elected
I ~~would not~~ accept the
responsibility. But I am sure
that with the loyal support
of the Filipino people I can
lay the foundation, firm and
permanent for an independent
~~to national~~ Philippine Republic.

Let no one now vacillate.
On the 15th of November next
the Commonwealth will be
incorporated. I shall be
at the ~~side~~ ^{help} of our
Sovereign of State and I request



(6)

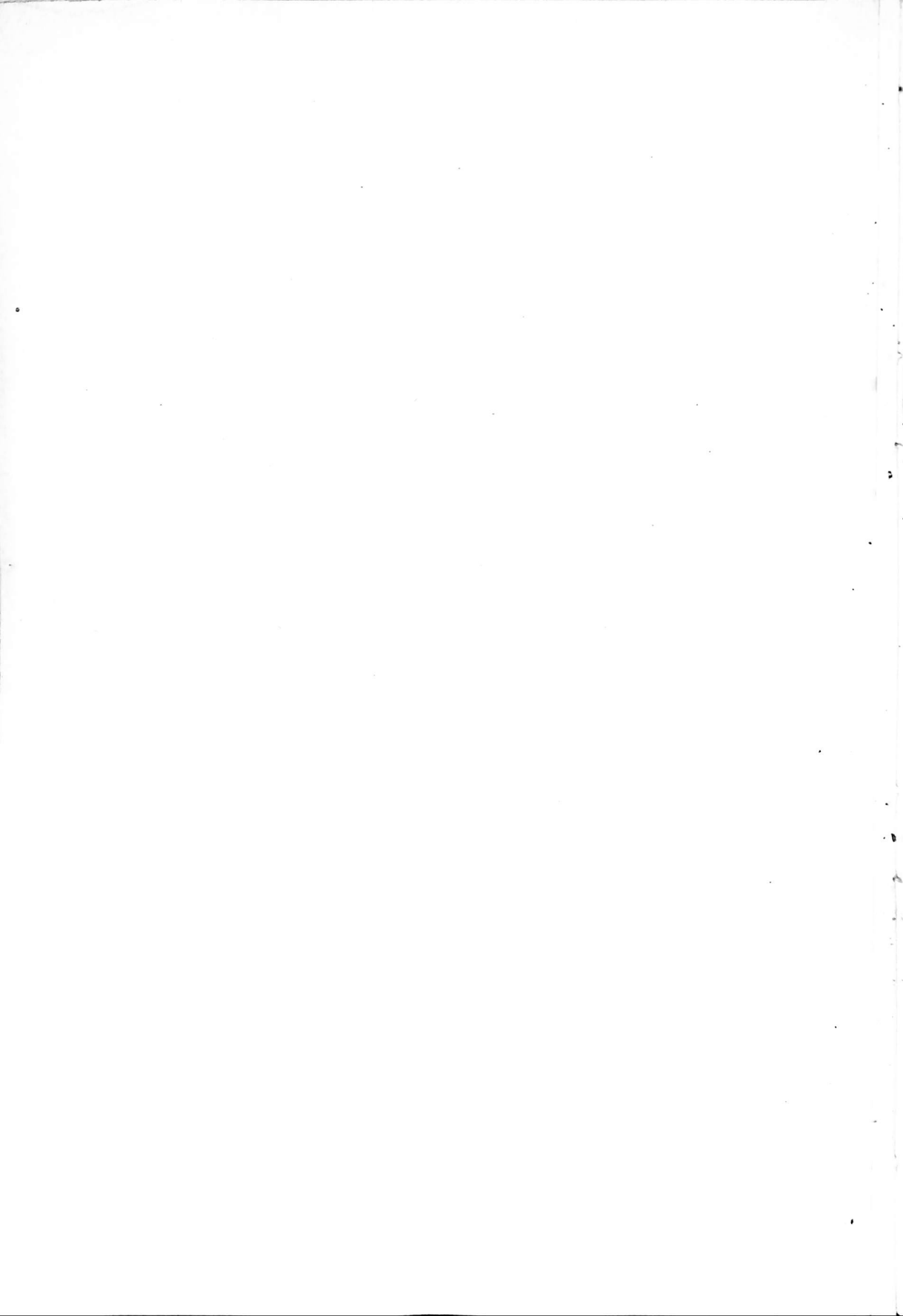
to find every Filipino - pe
man, woman and child at
his port. We will sail toward
our destination and see
only - ~~the~~ ~~port~~ ~~only~~ Independence.

To Carlos Romulo - my
loyal supporter
Manuel L. Quezon

President Quezon later dedicated this handwritten document to Carlos P. Romulo, publisher of the D-M-H-M newspapers, through whose courtesy this letter is being reproduced. Mr. Quezon wrote this statement in answer to a speech of former Resident Commissioner Pedro Guevara advocating an American protectorate over the Philippines. As can be gathered from the many erasures and corrections, President Quezon took time to phrase his words; this document is his first formal statement of national importance. A transcription of the manuscript follows:

By Manuel L. Quezon
President-elect of the Philippines

Once more I wish to say most emphatically that I am against American protectorate. It is idle to talk about it because even if everybody in the Philippines were for it, America would not consider it for a minute. I think I know as well as anybody the attitude of the American people on this question. They are willing to let us have either our own sovereignty and independence or remain under American sovereignty.



We chose the former and they gave it to us. But America under no circumstance will ever agree to let us have our own sovereignty and independence and yet continue to assume the responsibility for our protection against the world. There is an expression which the Americans use to express their attitude on this subject. "You cannot have your cake and eat it too." This is the American point of view.

Now, as to that of the Filipinos:

We have accepted the McDuffie-Tydings law—for which I have worked—which provides for absolute and complete independence ten years after the inauguration of the Commonwealth. This independence is the main objective of that law. The approval of our own Constitution, the establishment of the government of the Commonwealth are only preparatory steps toward independence—means to accomplish or to bring about this end.

Everything we have done so far—the acceptance by the Legislature of the McDuffie-Tydings law; the calling of the constitutional convention; the drafting and approval of the Constitution by the Constitutional Assembly and by the President of the United States; the acceptance of the Constitution thus approved by our people through a plebiscite; the elections of the constitutional officials of the Commonwealth, and the establishment of the government of the Commonwealth itself,—would all be a mockery, acts of bad faith on our part, unless we sincerely want and mean to be an independent nation.

The die is cast and there is only one serious, one decent, one honorable, one courageous thing for the Filipino people to do and that is to go ahead toward the establishment of the Philippine Republic without hesitation and without dismay, but with determination and valor.

That there are dangers in our path only the blind or the fool would deny. But we shall overcome every obstacle.

I am the President-elect of the Philippines. The responsibility to prepare the country for independence and to make sure that that independence will last, rests mainly upon my shoulders. If I did not consider myself equal to the task, if I had any doubt or hesitation, I should not have been a candidate, and now that I have been elected I accept the responsibility. I am sure that with the loyal support of the Filipino people I can lay the foundations, firm and permanent, for an independent Philippine Republic.

Let no one now vacillate. On the 15th of November next the Commonwealth will be inaugurated. I shall be at the helm of our ship of state and I expect to find every Filipino—man, woman or child—at his or her post. We will sail toward one destination and one only—Independence.

To Carlos Romulo—my loyal supporter.
Manuel L. Quezon.



APPENDIX

No finer speech has President Quezon delivered during his three decades of service to the Filipino public than that one of July 20, 1935, when he accepted the Coalition party nomination for the presidency of the Commonwealth. A person very much in the public spotlight, Mr. Quezon has made numberless speeches—here as well as abroad—but this acceptance speech of his is considered his finest and most important talk as it embodies a summary of his political, economic and social views. He has given a great deal of thought and time in preparing the speech; in the ultimate analysis it is in the promises and statements included below that will serve as a yardstick of measurement when evaluating his achievements six years hence, when Manuel L. Quezon will have gone down in history as the first President of the Commonwealth of the Philippines. For these reasons, the acceptance speech of President Quezon is reprinted in full.

Mr. Chairman, Gentlemen of the Committee, Fellow-Citizens:

It is with a profound sense of gratitude that I receive in the presence of this vast multitude the formal notification of my nomination for the Presidency of the Commonwealth. A party nomination for the highest office within the gift of the people is in itself a great distinction, but when the nomination comes under such auspicious circumstances as have attended that which is now proffered to me, I regard it as the greatest honor that can be accorded to any public man short alone of his actual election to the Presidency.

Ever since the approval and acceptance of the Independence Act there has been growing among the people a feeling of deepest concern over the difficult problems and impending responsibilities which will confront us upon the inauguration of the Commonwealth. While the Constitutional Convention was in session, partly fostered by the spirit of national solidarity exhibited by the members of that body, the anxiety to prepare the country adequately to meet these problems and responsibilities became articulate in an increasingly popular demand for national unity, that political parties give pause to partisan strife, that the leaders of the vital forces of the nation join in their efforts for the attainment of the common goal, and that the entire country resolve to support loyally the man who may be entrusted with the national leadership

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so that through the government of the Commonwealth the foundations of the future Philippine Republic may be solidly and firmly established.

Resolutions were passed by Municipal Councils as well as by civic and social organizations, including labor unions, demanding a coalition of the two great political parties as the most practical means of obtaining this unity of effort. Before the Constitutional Convention adjourned the cry of national unity was taken up by the League of Provincial Governors. Without regard to party affiliation and voicing the prevailing sentiment in their respective provinces, these spokesmen of our local governments unanimously joined in the general appeal for unity.

Lastly, prominent Filipino businessmen, professionals and leaders in agriculture, industry and labor formally submitted to the directorate of the two political parties a concrete proposal that the two parties nominate jointly the candidates for President and Vice-President and thus insure the cooperation of all the vital forces of the nation during the first and trying years of the Commonwealth. When the two parties held their respective national conventions they readily responded to this popular clamor and forthwith agreed to form a coalition and to nominate the same candidates for President and Vice-President.

Neither Senator Osmeña nor I sought these nominations. We made no pre-convention campaign nor did we have any desire to secure them. We entered public life about the same time thirty years ago both pledged to the cause of independence. The vicissitudes which have been our lot during these years are not now to be recounted, but as I look back upon our joint efforts in the attainment of the goal which we set out before us I feel happy that at the end of the long struggle we can face our people standing on the same platform, our pledge fulfilled, our mutual friendship and regard enhanced, and, still enjoying, I hope, their continued confidence and support.

With the approval of the Independence Act and its acceptance by the country we believed that our extended public service could at last come to an end. We would have been content as private citizens to lend our unstinted support to the new government. But it seems that our fellow-citizens have once again chosen to place upon our shoulders the new responsibility of organizing the Commonwealth and leading the nation during the early years of its existence. The nomination that has been proffered to us attains the category of a call to duty which no public-spirited citizen may evade or disregard. I, therefore, Mr. Chairman, make public announcement that I accept the nomination for the Presidency which has been tendered to me, deeming it my bounden duty to do so, and I accept it with the most profound sense of the responsibility that it entails and the deepest feeling of gratitude.

Having been nominated under the circumstances I have mentioned, I can not afford to speak in uncertain terms. The need of the hour is for fixed orientation, clear statement of policies, and a definition of the national purposes. In the course of the present campaign I shall have opportunity to discuss all the important questions before the country. For the present I have to limit myself to a few of them.

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THE PLATFORM

The Coalition platform meets with my whole-hearted approval. I took part in the drafting of that document and I make my own every commitment contained therein.

THE CONSTITUTION

I look upon the Constitution of the Philippines as the expression of the sovereignty and of the aggregate will of the Filipino People. I shall abide by its provisions. I shall uphold the democratic principle underlying the institutions that it establishes. I am opposed to a dictatorship. I maintain that no man who believes in a dictatorship can with safety be entrusted with the reins of executive power under our Constitution. Democracy can only survive if those at the helm of the government believe in the people's right to rule and have faith in their inherent capacity to decide rightly important public questions.

I will hold inviolate and will defend to the utmost the individual rights and liberties. I shall safeguard free speech, the freedom of the press, and the equality of every man before the law however poor or ignorant. I shall insure for every citizen of the Philippines, from Luzon to Mindanao and Sulu, the right to worship God as his own conscience dictates.

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE COMMONWEALTH

We are entering a new era. We are on the threshold of free nationhood. The government of the Commonwealth that we shall establish derives its powers from a constitution approved by the people themselves. It may truly be said that it is a government of our creation to be administered for our own welfare.

Except in a few specified cases, it will be free from American control in the conduct of domestic affairs. Only in our foreign relations do we remain subject to American supervision, and this because of the continuing responsibility of the United States to protect and defend the Islands from foreign aggression during the life of the Commonwealth. Hence, the government of the Commonwealth will be, in fact if not in name, an independent government under the protection of the United States.

The immediate task before us is to set up the new government,—a task that will require all the foresight, the wisdom, and the courage of our people. Then we must adopt such measures as will insure the stability of our national economy, and provide for the honest and efficient administration of the affairs of government. Equally important is to make adequate provision for the defense of our country against external aggression or internal disorders.

I favor a simple and economical government, one in keeping with the limited resources of our country but which is capable of ministering to the needs of the nation.

I shall be unsparing in my efforts to carry out the mandate of the constitution regarding the civil service. Merit and character alone will be the qualification for

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office or promotion. For the highest responsible posts I shall call on the most capable, honest and patriotic citizens, regardless of political affiliation or religious belief. This is no time for placing party considerations above the common weal. In fact, one of the main purposes of the coalition is to secure the coöperation and help of the best available men to insure the success of the Commonwealth. I shall tolerate neither corruption nor inefficiency in public office.

FINANCIAL POLICY

The financial stability of the government depends upon our ability to keep expenses within our income. At the time when other governments are resorting to loans in order to meet their obligations we can take pride in the fact that we have been able to maintain a balanced budget. Under our Constitution the responsibility for maintaining a balanced budget falls mainly upon the executive. I pledge myself to maintain the credit of the government and at all times to balance the budget and keep our finances in a sound condition.

I shall keep our present currency system in all its integrity and will allow no change that will affect its value. If new conditions should require such a change it will be done only after the most careful study and consultation with competent experts. For the present I can see no reason for any radical modification in our monetary system.

TAXATION

Irresponsible demagogues have tried to arouse in the hearts of our people the hope that under an independent Philippines there shall be no taxes except upon the rich. It is my duty to warn the credulous against such misrepresentation. Governments can be supported only through taxation. It is a primary duty of citizens to contribute to the support of the government, but taxation that does not take into consideration the relative financial ability of the taxpayer is unjust. I favor a complete revision of our system of taxation with the best technical advice available. I advocate that the burdens of the state be equitably distributed in proportion to the means and possibilities of the taxpayer. We shall make a general reduction of the assessed value of real property in accordance with present prices.

PUBLIC WORKS

The so-called pork barrel system, as known in the United States and as sometimes practised in the Philippines, must definitely be discarded. It is a waste of public funds. I am in favor of continuing the building of roads and schools, in accordance with a carefully prepared plan to be followed systematically, in the order of their relative importance to the general public.

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PUBLIC INSTRUCTION

I stand by the educational policy enunciated in the Constitution. The principle underlying this policy is the training for useful, well-disciplined, self-sacrificing citizenship that draws its breath of life from Filipino patriotism. Our system of education should be revised so as to accomplish that aim still more effectively. The State is in duty bound to maintain a complete and adequate system of public education, providing at least free public primary instruction and citizenship training to adult citizens.

My attention will be especially devoted to making it possible for every child to go to school. Adult citizenship training will be carried out in accordance with a broad and systematic plan. To the end that poverty may not prevent gifted young men and women from developing their talent, the government should create the largest possible number of scholarships for them in all branches of learning. Our educational objective should fit in with our economic policy. I am for greater emphasis on vocational and agricultural training in the intermediate and high schools, but the instruction should always be in keeping with the economic conditions of each region and of the country as a whole.

ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE

An independent judiciary administering justice without fear or favor promptly and impartially to rich and poor alike is the strongest bulwark of individual rights and the best guaranty against oppression and usurpation from any source. Equally important is the maintenance of the confidence of the people in the courts. I will appoint no man to the bench without having satisfied myself, after a thorough investigation, of his character and ability.

To strengthen the faith of the common people in our courts, it is necessary that the utmost care be exerted in the selection of Justices of the Peace. These courts are often the only tribunals accessible to the larger portion of our population and it is essential that they be maintained worthy of their confidence. If the disinherited can not obtain redress of their grievances or vindication of their rights in these courts, they have no further recourse, for the Courts of First Instance and the Supreme Court are often beyond their reach. By the impartiality and integrity of the Justices of the Peace, therefore, the judiciary of the Philippines is judged by the millions of our countrymen who live in the barrios and distant places. I pledge myself to do everything in my power to maintain these courts free from political or other extraneous influence and to appoint thereto only men of proven ability and integrity and of the broadest human sympathies.

SOCIAL PROBLEMS

The welfare of the people should be the concern of the government. The helpless and the needy, the jobless, as well as the workers in the factories and in the field have a claim upon the government to safeguard their health and well-being. The content-

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ment of the masses is the first insurance against social and political disorders. It is the duty of the government to protect the workingmen against abuses and exploitation to secure to them fair wages and reasonable return for their labor.

Let us beware of men who deliberately, for political or selfish aims, stir up discontent among the masses. They preach subversive doctrines, speak of evils and abuses that do not exist, or magnify those which often are inevitable in democracies. These men are the worse enemies of society, more dangerous to the community than ordinary criminals. They have no sympathy for the people, but are mere self-seekers, intent only in securing either pecuniary or political advantage for themselves. If as a result of their preachings disorders occur, they cowardly disclaim all responsibility for that which none other than themselves had brought about. He who tries to curry favor with the masses by appealing to the passions of the people, stirring up their prejudices, or capitalizing discontent or human suffering, is unworthy of public trust.

LANDED ESTATES

The ownership of big landed estates by corporations or absentee landlords have invariably caused discontent and unrest among the tenants or occupants of such estates. The discontent among the tenants of the Friar lands contributed to the causes which led to the rebellion against Spain. Those Friar lands have been acquired by the government and sold in small lots but there are still a few large haciendas particularly in Luzon that are the hotbeds of discontent and unrest among their tenants. Not only for the sake of these tenants, but also in the interest of peace, every effort should be made to acquire these haciendas, at a fair and just price to be sold in small lots to the tenants.

There are complaints in certain places that the tenants are the victims of unfair practices on the part of their landlords. These abuses must be stopped and the tenant protected in his rights.

LABOR

Fortunately for our country, we have had no sharp cleavages between labor and capital. Strikes have been few and far-between, and they have never been long-drawn out or general. That we have so far been spared the extremities of class warfare, is no proof that we shall forever be exempt. Our good fortune should rather teach us to seek the means to preserve the country against such conflicts by the only method which experience has shown to be effective, namely, by taking steps designed to prevent the exploitation and oppression of the working-men and thus assure their happiness and contentment.

Filipino laborers, compared to those of other Oriental countries, receive higher wages and are much better protected in their rights by legislation. We have enacted many laws protecting labor. In all earnestness, however, I must say that we must go

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further in this direction. The experience of centuries shows that the one sure way to protect society against class war is to secure to wage-earners their due.

I am against communism. I am a firm believer in the institution of private property. I contend, however, that whenever property rights come in conflict with human rights, the former should yield to the latter.

If we would preserve the institution of private property, we must hold fast to this principle, in the determination of conflicting rights between man and man. It is thus that we may draw the line between the rights of labor and capital and erect an economic structure based on the principle that human life is the measure of all other values, that considerations of possession and profit must give way to the supremacy of human existence.

CAPITAL

A change in the political status of a country always gives rise to fear and misgivings. Not only among Americans and foreigners, but even among a few Filipinos, the impending political changes have caused anxiety as to the future.

There is no justification for these fears. I give assurance that peace, order, law and justice will reign supreme under the Commonwealth, and that the rights of foreigners and nationals alike will be safeguarded. Existing investments, whether foreign or national, will receive every inducement to stay, and outside capital will be welcomed. We especially desire that new American capital should come and help in the development of the country.

NATIONAL DEFENSE

I believe in the efficacy of the instrumentalities of peace, such as the League of Nations or treaties of neutrality. In due time we should apply for admission to the League and urge the negotiation of a multilateral treaty for the neutralization of the Philippines. However, we cannot ignore present-day realities. We can not rely exclusively on these implements of peace for our national defense.

I favor preparedness for national defense. We can not afford to have, nor do I approve of, a large standing army or costly military establishments, but we must have a regular army of sufficient size for our requirements and a trained citizenry ready to be drafted into service in any emergency. For the proper planning of our defenses and the organization and training of our regular and citizen army I shall secure the best expert advice.

OUR RELATIONS WITH AMERICA

It should be our constant endeavor to maintain the most friendly relations and closest collaboration with the United States. We owe much to America and we are grateful to her. Our present economy is tied up with the free American market.

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Many of our industries depend for their existence on our reciprocal free trade relations with the United States, and we should try to maintain these trade relations if possible, even after independence. I shall spare no effort to obtain the elimination of the export tax provided in the Independence Law. I shall work for the repeal of the excise tax on coconut oil. I shall endeavor to take such action as may be required to place our trade relations with the United States on a truly reciprocal basis, so that they may be continued after independence for the mutual advantage of both countries.

FOREIGN RELATIONS

As already stated, our foreign relations will be under the control and supervision of the United States during the Commonwealth; but there is nothing in the Independence Act which prevents the Commonwealth from beginning to lay the foundations for our future relations with foreign nations. Indeed, the period of transition having been provided to give to the Filipino people time to prepare themselves for the responsibilities of an independent government, it can be rightly assumed that the United States meant to give us the opportunity, under the Commonwealth, of initiating both political as well as trade relations with other countries, subject to its supervision and control.

We shall request the State Department at Washington to permit the Commonwealth to send men as attachés to American legations or embassies as well as to American consulates in order that these men may acquire the knowledge and experience in the diplomatic service and provide our government with needed information concerning foreign trade.

It will be necessary and to our advantage besides to win the good-will of, and maintain friendly relations with, other nations. But to accomplish this aim, mere protestations of good purposes are not enough. We must deal fairly with all nations and respect their rights. We must secure to every foreigner who lives with us full protection of our laws. His life, his property, must be as safe among us as they are in his own land.

During the transition period we shall endeavor to find new markets for our products so that if and when the market of the United States shall no longer be open to us, except on a competitive basis, we may not be left without outlet for our products.

PHILIPPINE INDEPENDENCE

The question of Philippine Independence has been settled. The Independence Law sets the day for independence and prescribes the process leading to its consummation. We accepted the Independence Law, we have approved a Constitution pursuant to its provisions, and the people by ratifying it with practical unanimity have agreed to the grant of independence under the terms and conditions prescribed by the Congress. Independence, therefore, is no longer an issue either in the United

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States or in the Philippines. Insofar as the terms and conditions of independence are concerned, we made it plain when we accepted the Independence Law that we reserved the right to petition Congress for their modification with a view to making them less burdensome for our people and more adapted to the attainment of the purpose for which Congress intended them.

We consider the economic provisions of the Independence Law not entirely fair to the Philippines. We regard legislation recently passed by Congress imposing greater restrictions on our free imports to the United States or authorizing the collection of exorbitant taxes on some of our products sold in that country, not only discriminatory, but a virtual violation of the solemn covenant between the two countries. We shall exert every effort to secure the repeal of those discriminatory measures and to obtain amendments to the Independence Law looking to a more equitable trade arrangement between the United States and the Philippines during the Commonwealth.

In relation to the transition period, the Congress of the United States fixed the term of ten years considering it necessary to allow the Philippines gradually to adjust their national economy to the conditions which will obtain when independence should eventuate and to permit the Filipinos to prepare themselves adequately for the responsibilities of independent nationhood. It was, therefore, chiefly for the benefit of the Philippines rather than of the United States that the intermediate period of ten years was fixed. While there may be differences of opinion as to whether this period is too long or too short, all must agree that, if our trade relations with the United States during the Commonwealth should prove more injurious to our country than they would under complete independence, the Philippines would then do well to hasten the date of separation from America. This fact will not be revealed to us until after the first years of the Commonwealth and we have known the result of the economic conference between representatives of the United States and the Philippines which, I trust, will be called by the President of the United States at an early date.

Meanwhile, I consider it a most disturbing influence which will retard our work of economic readjustment and reconstruction, for anyone to advocate now the shortening of the transition period. What the country direly needs today is a period of stability and business confidence so that we may proceed unhampered in the task of erecting our new government and building up the national economy to increase the wealth of the nation, promote commerce, agriculture, and industry; improve the condition of our wage-earners, and create economic opportunities for all our citizens. We need to give capital reasonable certainty as to those conditions which affect investment; we need to assure the industries that are dependent upon the free American market that no radical changes will take place which will bring about a sudden loss of the market on which they depend; we need above all to provide economic security for the masses of our people which can only be accomplished through the maintenance of stable business conditions.

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I yield to no one in my fervent desire to see the Philippines independent as soon as possible, but I cannot close my eyes to the fact that a difference of a few years may mean a great deal to the wellbeing of our people and the permanence of our national liberty. Besides, we should not be deluded into believing that it is possible for anyone at this time to obtain from Congress the shortening of the transition period. All the pleas that may now be submitted in support of this action had already been considered and passed upon by that body. No new reason can be advanced that had not been already submitted. Therefore, making an issue of the shortening of the transition period is unfair to our people and most injurious to their interests.

I am anxious to see our independence established at the earliest possible date. I look upon it as the most precious reward for the many years of ceaseless efforts that I have spent in its quest. I pledge myself anew resolutely to take all the necessary steps leading to the advent of independence, and to do everything in my power to make the Philippine Republic strong and enduring, and the blessings of liberty not only the cherished possession of this generation but the priceless heritage of the Filipino people for all time.

